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MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

V. 3

VOLUME THREE
1908-1911

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Acknowledgments,	194
Actor, Recollections of An Old,	53, 170, 275, 423
Aldrich, The late Charles,	197
Annexation of Texas, Smith,	450
Baptism of First Church bell in St. Louis,	436
Beckwith Archaeological Collection,	334
Beginning of Spanish Missouri, The,	145
Black Hawk's Bowl, Gift of Miss Mary Alicia Owen,	334
Boone, Daniel and others; Petition for Ferry,	131
Building Fund, The,	195
Building, The New,	329
Chouteau, Col. Auguste, Portrait of,	350
Chouteau, Pierre (1758–1849), Portrait of,	391
Chouteau, Pierre (1849–1910), Portrait of,	322
Chouteau, Pierre, *In Memoriam*,	322
Chouteau, J. Gilman, Notice of,	93
Chouteau Papers,	94
Chouteau's Journal of the Founding of St. Louis, Original,	335
Chouteau's Journal of the Founding of St. Louis, Translation,	349
Connelley's Doniphan's Expedition,	96
Dalton, Mary Louise, *In Memoriam*,	1
Dalton, Mary Louise, Portrait of,	1
Dean, Julia, Portrait of,	423
De Bar, Ben, Portrait of,	298
De Bar, Mrs. Ben, Portrait of,	301
Douglas, Walter B., Article by,	233, 367
Early Days in St. Louis, Kennerly,	407
Ely, Rosalie Lisa, Portrait of,	399
Errata,	328

PAGE

Finkelnburg, Hon. Gustavus A., Article by, 201
Finkelnburg, Hon. Gustavus A., Portrait of, 201
Fort San Carlos, St. Louis, Picture of, 81
Forts at the Mouth of the Missouri River, The Spanish, 269
Fowke, Gerard, Article by, 31

Gayoso de Lemos, Governor Don Manuel, Portrait of, 71
Gordon, Capt. Harry, Extract from Journal of, 437
Grand Jury Presentment, 1805, 306

Hanson, Joseph Mills, Poem by, 4
Houck's History of Missouri, 98, 313
Houck's Spanish Regime in Missouri, 449
Hunt, Capt. Theodore, Portrait of, 372
Hunt, Wilson Price, Portrait of, 266

Instructions, Letter of, Carondelet to Howard, 1796, 71
Instructions, Letter of, D'Ulloa to Rui, 1767, 145

Jefferson, Quartrain by Douglas Malloch, 366
Jefferson Barracks, The Beginning of, 198

Kearny, Gen. Stephen Watts, Journal of, 8, 99
Kearny, Gen. Stephen Watts, Portrait of, 8
Kennerly, William Clark, Early Recollections, 407
Kennerly, William Clark, Portrait of, 407
Kilbuck's Marital Adventures, Ruxton, 319
Krone, Charles A., Articles by, 53, 170, 275, 423

Laclède Liguest, Pierre, Portrait of, 335
Laclède's House, Picture of, 353
Leavenworth, Gen. Henry, 104
Librarian, The New, 92
Lisa, Manuel, Sketch of Life of, 233, 367
Lisa, Manuel, Portrait of, 233
Lisa, Manuel, Picture of house of, 238
Lisa, Mary, Portrait of, 367
Lisa, Mary, Picture of house of, 395
Little Crow's Village, Picture of, 110
Lucas, John B. C., *In Memoriam*, 320
Lucas, John B. C., Portrait of, 320

PAGE

Finkelnburg, Hon. Gustavus A., Article by, 201
Finkelnburg, Hon. Gustavus A., Portrait of, 201
Fort San Carlos, St. Louis, Picture of, 81
Forts at the Mouth of the Missouri River, The Spanish, 269
Fowke, Gerard, Article by, 31

Gayoso de Lemos, Governor Don Manuel, Portrait of, 71
Gordon, Capt. Harry, Extract from Journal of, 437
Grand Jury Presentment, 1805, 306

Hanson, Joseph Mills, Poem by, 4
Houck's History of Missouri, 98, 313
Houck's Spanish Regime in Missouri, 449
Hunt, Capt. Theodore, Portrait of, 372
Hunt, Wilson Price, Portrait of, 266

Instructions, Letter of, Carondelet to Howard, 1796, 71
Instructions, Letter of, D'Ulloa to Rui, 1767, 145

Jefferson, Quartrain by Douglas Malloch, 366
Jefferson Barracks, The Beginning of, 198

Kearny, Gen. Stephen Watts, Journal of, 8, 99
Kearny, Gen. Stephen Watts, Portrait of, 8
Kennerly, William Clark, Early Recollections, 407
Kennerly, William Clark, Portrait of, 407
Kilbuck's Marital Adventures, Ruxton, 319
Krone, Charles A., Articles by, 53, 170, 275, 423

Laclède Liguest, Pierre, Portrait of, 335
Laclède's House, Picture of, 353
Leavenworth, Gen. Henry, 104
Librarian, The New, 92
Lisa, Manuel, Sketch of Life of, 233, 367
Lisa, Manuel, Portrait of, 233
Lisa, Manuel, Picture of house of, 238
Lisa, Mary, Portrait of, 367
Lisa, Mary, Picture of house of, 395
Little Crow's Village, Picture of, 110
Lucas, John B. C., *In Memoriam*, 320
Lucas, John B. C., Portrait of, 320

PAGE

Macbeth, Malcolm, *In Memoriam*, 325
Macbeth, Malcolm, Portrait of, 325
Malloch, Douglas, Quartrains by, 366
Missouri's First Bees, 192
Money, Primitive, 443
Muench, Friedrich, A Sketch of the Life and Work of, 132
Muench, Friedrich, Portrait of, 132
Muench, Julius T., Article by, 132

Napoleon, Quartrain by Douglas Malloch, 366
New Madrid Archives, 92
Newspaper Acquisitions, 329

Office, The Society's Temporary, 452
Officer, An Honest (Pierre Didier), 193
Ortes, Madame Elizabeth Barada, Portrait of, 184

Papin, Lèon J., *In Memoriam*, 447
Perez, Lieut.-Gov. Don Manuel, Letter and Sketch of, 307
Perez, Lieut.-Gov. Don Manuel, Portrait of, 307
Perez, Madame, Portrait of, 310
Pettus, William G., Article by, 193
Piernas and Chouriac, Complaints against, 274
Porter, Valentine Mott, Articles Edited by, 8, 99
Prairie du Chien and Fort Crawford, Picture of, 118
Pratte, Gen. Bernard, Baptism of, 232
Public School Buildings, Naming of, 95

Recollections, Early, of St. Louis, 407
Recollections of an Old Actor, 53, 170, 275, 423
Roy's Tower, Picture of, 193
Russell, Mrs. D. R., Article edited by, 407

Spanish Forts at Mouth of Missouri River, 269
Spanish Missouri, The Beginning of, 145
Spanish Missouri, More About, 200
St. Louis, Early Days in, 407
St. Louis Land Owners in 1805, 183
St. Louis, Story of, Briefly Told, 201

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Established 1866.

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The annual dues are five dollars.

The Library and Collections of the Missouri Historical Society are open to the public, and visitors are always welcome.

Gifts of portraits, manuscripts, biographical sketches, old letters, books and relics illustrative of the history of the State and its people, will be gladly received.

All persons interested are solicited to become members.

Correspondence should be addressed to

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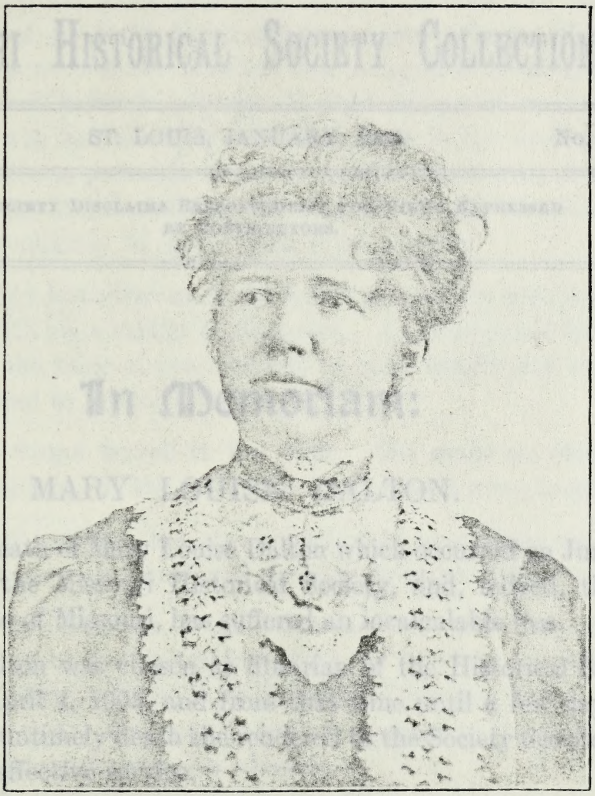


Mary Louise Dalton

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

VOL. 3. ST. LOUIS, JANUARY, 1908. No. 1.

THE SOCIETY DISCLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIEWS EXPRESSED BY CONTRIBUTORS.

In Memoriam:

MARY LOUISE DALTON.

In the death of Mary Louise Dalton which occurred on June 13, 1907, the Missouri Historical Society, and, indeed, the whole State of Missouri, has suffered an incalculable loss.

Miss Dalton was chosen as librarian of the Historical Society on April 4, 1903, and from that time until a few days before her untimely death she rendered to the Society devoted and most effective service.

Born in Missouri, of distinguished pioneer ancestry, she loved her State and its people, and was eager to contribute to the public welfare to the full measure of her ability.

Endowed by nature with a keen and alert mind, which she had broadened and strengthened by well-directed and continuous training, she was quick to perceive the relations and values of the materials for history which she discovered, and indefatigable in their pursuit.

Her knowledge of the history of Missouri, both along the broad lines and in detail, was surprising in its extent and its

accuracy. Whether the question related to French, Spanish or Americans, Confederates or Federals, she was equally interested and equally ready.

While she was a person of decided opinions, she was little disposed to force those opinions upon others. Her sympathies were of the broadest: she recognized no monopoly of good, and in her friendships she drew no lines of creed or class. Such was her sincerity and enthusiasm in her work that she was able to persuade the most indifferent persons of the importance and desirability of what she sought to accomplish, and frequently to secure their loyal support.

In her historical work she had a passion for accuracy, that was with her a matter of character. A statement of fact made upon the basis of probabilities or upon insufficient evidence, appeared to her to be dishonest.

She forgot herself in her work. She made no clamor for recognition. If the work were well done it was enough.

Many articles that she published in magazines and newspapers were unsigned, and she took no care to preserve copies.

In the discharge of her duties she was unresting, often in disregard of the limitations set for her by a certain delicacy of constitution. Even in an interval of her last illness she returned to her desk and undertook to clear up the work which had accumulated in her absence.

Complainings and ill-natured criticism were foreign to her disposition. She met every fortune with an equal courage, and her unfailing cheerfulness was an inspiration.

On her last day she expressed to her attending physician her regret that she had lost the power to smile and to so make known to her friends her thankfulness for their kindly services.

She died just at the time when her powers and her judgment were ripening to their best.

"A noble soul, *forte et belle.*"

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

Mary Louise Dalton was born at Wentzville, Missouri, April 1, 1869, the daughter of Dr. William R. and Harriet Ursula (Walker) Dalton. She spent her childhood on the farm of her grandmother, Mrs. Mary B. Walker, and attended the public schools of Wentzville. From there she went to Lindenwood College at St. Charles, Mo., where she excelled in scholarship, and from which she was graduated with honor in 1887. As a stenographer she spent several years in a New York law office, and was later with a bank at Middlesboro, Ky. About 1893 she came to St. Louis and took up newspaper work, becoming assistant editor of *The Republic's* Sunday Magazine. After five years in this position, in which she gained distinction for the quality of her work, for her enthusiasm, and unfailing cheerfulness, she was obliged on accouut of ill health to leave the newspaper field. She went to Colorado, to recuperate, and, returning after a few months, took up her residence again at Wentzville. By this time, her health improved, she had acquired an active interest in genealogy and in the history of this region. To carry on her historical investigations to better advantage, she went to Jefferson City as the private secretary of a relative in the Legislature.

She became Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society in 1903, and helped to prepare the Society's extensive exhibit at the World's Fair. In recognition of her labors the Exposition awarded her a gold medal. At the 1905 session of the Legislature she did more than anyone else to secure the passage of the "Flag Bill," prohibiting the commercial desecration of the flag and providing for the annual celebration of "Flag Day" on June 14th. But in her work on behalf of the Historical Society, especially in rescuing for posterity many historical records of this region that lay hidden in odd places or in peril of destruction by careless hands, she rendered a service of immeasurable worth. Hardly less valuable were her historical investigations, some of which may be found reported in these collections. The unselfish assistance that she gave to historical writers all over the country was seldom rewarded by adequate public acknowledgement, but there was compensation for in the knowledge that she had helped to make truthful and accurate the annals of her country.

On June 13, 1907, she died, in the flower of her usefulness, and by her death was lost forever the knowledge of much historical lore that she had not yet had time to put into permanent record. She was perhaps the greatest authority on certain phases of the history of this part of the Mississippi Valley. Her deplorable loss is written in the resolutions of the Missouri Historical Society, the Veteran Volunteer Firemen's Historical Society, the Grand Army post at Sedalia, the Jefferson Chapter, D. A. R. of which she was a founder, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, The Missouri Folk Lore Society, and other organizations, as well as in the hearts of a multitude of friends.

TO MARY LOUISE DALTON.

(June 13-14, 1907.)

The golden glow of sunrise spreads fast across the sky
And drapes Missouri's round-topped knobs in robes of royal dye,
From dew-drenched wood and meadow, from fields of nodding corn
The songsters of the thickets bid welcome to the morn.

But why, one fleeting moment, does the morning breeze turn chill,
Why sobs it in its gladness an instant and is still?
Ah, green fields of Missouri, ah, hill and stream and dell
A soul went out this morning that loved you passing well!

Not for your beauty only, fair sky and fecund earth,
But for the sons you nourished who gave your beauty worth;
Not for your wealth of commerce, not for your cities vast,
But for the deeds of glory that gem your splendid past.

She loved you for the epic of your swift and crowded years,
Like friends she held the legion of your dauntless pioneers.
She knew the restless voyageurs whose ringing axes dress'd
The cradle of St. Louis, proud mistress of the West.

She breathed the Gallic romance of the hamlets, white and still,
That fringed the Mississippi, deep-walled by wood and hill;
She traced the tireless footsteps of the trappers, faring forth
A thousand leagues to westward, a thousand leagues to north.

She saw the white-topped freighters swing down the sunset way
By boundless plain and desert that led to Santa Fe;
She heard the savage war-whoop come shuddering on the gale
To greet the gaunt-limbed settlers along the Boone's Lick trail.

She felt the bitter anguish of the years of blood and hate
When brother fought with brother and the land lay desolate,
And, with a heart more steadfast since it shared the Southron's pain,
She loved the flag that triumphed and made it bloom again.

God's august will commanded that her soul-deserted clay
Be laid among its fathers on that banner's natal day;
A day when, by her labors, it floats on every hand
O'er village, farm and city throughout her native land.

Oh, green fields of Missouri, make soft your ample breast,
Clasp close your stricken daughter and give her tender rest,
For of all the band immortal you have crowned with love and fame
None wrought with more devotion for the lustre of your name.

JOSEPH MILLS HANSON.

From the many letters received by the Society the following extracts are taken:

HON. THOMAS SHACKELFORD, Glasgow, Mo.

"I saw Miss Dalton but once during her charge as Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society. I was struck then with her aptitude in connecting the dead past with the living present." "The loss of such an enthusiastic gatherer of the important events in the early history of Missouri is almost irreparable. It is only the great future that can fully appreciate the work of this noble woman. I wish to bear this, my humble testimony as to the character and worth of one who has done so much to restore from oblivion so much of the early history of this, my native State of Missouri."

HON. LOUIS HOUCK, Cape Girardeau, Mo.

"Can hardly yet realize that Miss Dalton is dead. Not only the Historical Society, but all of us interested in the history of Missouri and its preservation, feel that her loss will be hard to repair. She had a genius for gathering up historical material, a genius for digging up long forgotten historic facts, a genius for intuitively connecting the past with the present, and her whole soul and life were wrapped up in this work."

PROFESSOR CLARENCE W. ALVORD, University of Illinois.

"The announcement of Miss Dalton's death is a terrible shock to me. I never have associated the idea of death with one who seemed so much alive to all that was best. Her loss will be felt by the Historical Society keenly, for her genius fitted her in a unique manner for her work. Her pleasing personality made a visit to the Society's rooms a pleasure which I always looked forward to."

COL. D. C. ALLEN, Liberty, Mo.

"I regard Miss Dalton's death as a serious—a very serious—loss to historical and genealogical knowledge and investiga-

tion in Missiouri. Besides that, she was an unusual character—refined, courteous, gentle, respectful and generous. When here some months ago in her successful effort to secure the papers of the late Major John Dougherty of this County, she quite delighted all who met her."

Miss Rose E. Young, Louisville.

"The sad tidings of Miss Dalton's death brings me a sense of personal loss, though I was not privileged to know her except through correspondence. On various occasions I have had recourse to her for information about Missouri, and not only did she prove herself ready and helpful, but her letters exhaled a rare charm of personality that was finely satisfying."

Miss Mary Alicia Owen, St. Joseph.

"The State has indeed sustained a loss. Although I never had the satisfaction of meeting Miss Dalton, I had some pleasant correspondence with her, so I feel that I have lost a friend, as well as a sister Missourian, of whom I was proud."

Miss May Simonds, St. Louis Mercantile Library.

"She was uniquely equipped for her work. I have often noticed, as we worked together, how very keen she was in following up the slightest clue. What would have escaped many, or if noticed, have been abandoned as unimportant, she would often make the basis for a new line of research, and pursue it with a success beyond hope. This was true, not only of the avidity with which she would plunge into the printed page even where its dry-as-dust appearance, might without reproach have daunted many; she had also the faculty of reaching in the most unpromising of mortals, the vital spark which would quicken and emit information at her touch. She could overcome indifference, stupidity, suspicion, and always gained her point.

"We made many little trips together through the outlying districts, in search of material—papers said to be in existence

containing valuable information of early days, now lying all but forgotten, whether in the ramshackle farmhouse, where the ancestor of the farmer had held office by authority of the Sacred Majesty of France, or hidden away in the parish records of the old village church, or lying tumbled in a heap in the garret of the old court-house. Her way of enlisting the attention, the confidence, finally the enthusiasm of the people we met in these excursions, was a constant delight to witness."

MR. FREDERICK TREVOR HILL, New York.

"I am profoundly shocked and grieved to learn of Miss Dalton's death. Although I never had the honor of meeting her, our correspondence concerning the Dred Scott case was so long and our interest in it so keen, that I feel as though I knew her well. She was certainly a woman of unusual attainments, and I considered myself very fortunate to have had her most intelligent cöoperation in the paper appearing in the July issue of *Harper's Magazine*."

At the second annual meeting of the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, held at Washington University, St. Louis, February 8th, 1908, it was unanimously

"*Resolved*, That this Society is deeply conscious of the loss it has sustained in the death, June 13th, 1907, of MARY LOUISE DALTON, a Charter Member of the Society, one of its first, most active and most efficient promoters, the first to read a paper before the Society, and its first Treasurer.

"The Society extends its sympathy to the relatives of the departed, to the Missouri Historical Society, of which she was Librarian, and to all the varied historical and scientific activities which feel the loss of her energy, enthusiasm, and helpfulness.

"(Signed) H. M. BELDEN,
"Secretary."

JOURNAL OF STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY.

EDITED BY VALENTINE MOTT PORTER.

PART I.

THE COUNCIL BLUFF—ST. PETER'S EXPLORATION (1820).

AN INCIDENT OF THE YELLOWSTONE EXPEDITION.

(A narrative of the first overland crossing by white persons between the upper Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, in an effort to open a route for the passage of United States troops between "Camp Missouri," later known as "Fort Atkinson," near the present city of Omaha, and "Camp Cold Water," the predecessor of Fort Snelling, near the present cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis.)

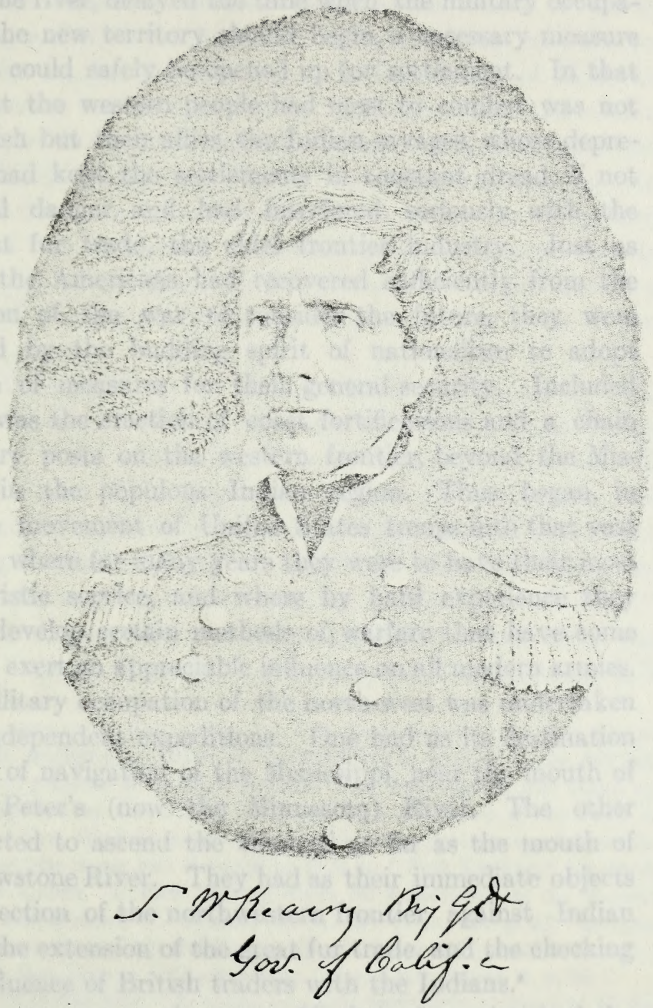
EDITORIAL PREFACE.

This journal[1] of the famous soldier, Stephen Watts Kearny, now printed for the first time, has unusual interest in being the only known record or account,[2] it is believed, of an early military exploration that was an incident of the pioneer movement of United States troops into the great trans-Mississippi region. Until 1818 no effort had been made to establish army posts beyond the Mississippi. Following the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory in 1803, the Americans had re-garrisoned a few minor cantonments evacuated by the Spanish,[3] and had planted a few new posts, but practically

[1] The manuscript is the property of the Missouri Historical Society and was acquired by gift from the late Charles Kearny, Esq., of St. Joseph, Mo.

[2] A search of the records on file in the War Department has resulted in failure to find any mention of this expedition. A bare reference to it is found in Doty's *Journal: Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 215. In the St. Louis *Enquirer*, of July 25, 1820, there is a letter dated Council Bluffs, June 24, 1820, containing this statement: "Captain Magee, with a small command, is about setting out to mark a road from this position to the Falls of St. Anthony."

[3] Although the Louisiana Territory was acquired from the French (1803), it will be remembered that it had been since 1763 in the possession of the Spanish. After the Treaty of St. Ildefonso (1800), which terminated Spain's interest, the French did not resume possession of the posts.



S. W. Kearny Brig. Gen.
Gov. of Calif.a

[By Courtesy of the U. S. Cavalry Association.]

all of these were along the middle and lower river. The War of 1812 coming on soon afterward, and having its theatre east of the river, delayed the time when the military occupation of the new territory should begin, a necessary measure before it could safely be opened up for settlement. In that war what the western people had most to combat was not the British but their allies, the Indian savages, whose depredations had kept the settlements in constant dread, if not in actual danger, and had interfered seriously with the important fur trade, the chief frontier industry. Just as soon as the Americans had recovered sufficiently from the exhaustion of the war to consider the future, they were prompted by the budding spirit of nationalism to adopt a system of measures for their general security. Included in these was the erection of coast fortifications and a chain of military posts on the western frontier, beyond the Mississippi, in the populous Indian region. Thus began, in 1818, the movement of United States troops into that vast territory, where for many years they were to have their most characteristic service, and where by hard experience they were to develop certain methods of warfare that have come finally to exert an appreciable influence on all modern armies.

The military occupation of the north-west was undertaken in two independent expeditions. One had as its destination the head of navigation of the Mississippi, near the mouth of the St. Peter's (now the Minnesota) River. The other was directed to ascend the Missouri as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone River. They had as their immediate objects the protection of the northwestern frontier against Indian attacks, the extension of the great fur trade, and the checking of the influence of British traders with the Indians.[4]

The troops sent to the upper Mississippi consisted of the greater part (about 414 total strength[5]) of the Fifth United States Infantry, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel

[4] See statement of the objects of the expedition, by Sec. of War John C. Calhoun, *Am. State Papers*, "Military Affairs," ii, p. 33.

[5] Q. M. Gen. Rep., *ibid.* p. 36.

Henry Leavenworth. Leaving detachments as garrisons at Prairie du Chien and Fort Armstrong, the major portion of the command ascended the river as far as the mouth of the St. Peter's, a little below the Falls of St. Anthony, and erected barracks on the Mendota side. In the Spring of 1820, the cantonment was so menaced by high water that the soldiers crossed to the opposite shore and chose a new camp-site which they called "Camp Cold Water," on account of a spring that gushed from a neighboring lime-stone rock. As the general location was considered to possess great advantages for the protection of the trade of Americans and the prevention of trade of foreigners, buildings were soon begun for a permanent post.[6]

The troops sent up the Missouri River and known as "The Yellow Stone Expedition," consisted of the Sixth United States Infantry, under command of Colonel Henry Atkinson, and the United States Rifle Regiment (formed from the four rifle regiments in existence prior to the reorganization of the Army), making a total strength of 1126.[7] In 1819 this force had worked its way up the river as far as the "Council Bluff,"[8] on the Nebraska side, and there established a post which was named "Camp Missouri."[9] Secretary of War Calhoun, in a

[6] The permanent post begun by Col. Leavenworth was first named "Fort St. Anthony." Before it was finished his transfer to the 6th Inf. caused his removal to another station. The construction was taken up and completed by Col. Josiah Snelling. The excellence of the work so impressed Gen. Winfield Scott, when he visited the post, that on his recommendation the name was changed in 1824 to "Fort Snelling," by which it is now known. ("Fort Snelling From Its Foundation to the Present Time": Gen. Richard W. Johnson, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 21. See also "Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling" (1819–1840), *ibid.*, ii-iii, p. 21.)

[7] Q. M. Gen. Rep., "Military Affairs," *Am. State Papers*, ii, p. 35.

[8] The "Council Bluff," so called by Lewis and Clark, on account of the council of Otoe and Missouri Indians held there with them on Aug. 3, 1804, was a steep bank rising abruptly from the river to a height of about 150 feet. (*Long's Expedition:* James, London Ed., p. 139.) The place is not to be confused with the city of similar name that grew up on the Iowa side.

[9] "Camp Missouri" after 1821 and till its abandonment in 1827 was known as "Fort Atkinson," in honor of Colonel Atkinson. On the old site is now Fort Calhoun, a town in Washington Co., Neb., not far from Omaha. ("Old Fort Atkinson": W. H. Ellers, *Neb. Hist. Soc. Rep.*, iv, p. 18.)

letter[10] to the Chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, had this to say about the location:

> "The position at Council Bluffs is a very important one, and the post will consequently be rendered strong, and will be occupied by a sufficient garrison. It is about half way between St. Louis and the Mandan[11] Village, and is at that point on the Missouri which approaches the nearest to the post at the mouth of the St. Peter's, with which in the event of hostilities it may coöperate. It is, besides, not more than 180 miles in advance of our settlements on the Missouri and is in the center of the most powerful tribes and the most numerous Indian population west of the Mississippi. It is believed to be the best position on the Missouri to cover our flourishing settlements in that quarter and ought, if it were wholly unconnected with other objects, to be established for that purpose alone."

The feasibility of coöperation between the troops at Council Bluff (Camp Missouri) and at the mouth of the St. Peter's, on the Mississippi, was of course dependent upon a practicable overland route between the two posts, a distance of not over three hundred miles as the crow flies, since the water route, by way of the two great rivers, meant a laborious trip of at least twelve hundred miles. Steamboat[12] transportation

[10] "Military Affairs," *Am. State Papers*, ii, p. 33. See also Pres. Monroe's 2d Annual Message, Nov. 16, 1818, and his 3d An. Message, Dec. 7, 1819.

[11] Mandan Village was the habitation of the Mandan Indians, situated about 60 miles above the present site of Bismarck, N. D., and near the mouth of Knife River.

[12] Gen. Atkinson's troops, comprising the Yellowstone or Missouri River Expedition (being known under both names), had started from St. Louis with five steamboats, the *Jefferson, Expedition, Johnson, Calhoun*, and *Exchange*. There is no record of the last two ever entering the Missouri River. The *Jefferson* gave out and abandoned the trip 30 miles below Franklin, Mo. The *Expedition* and *Johnson* wintered at Cow Island, a little above the mouth of the Kansas, and returned to St. Louis the following spring. Gen. Atkinson invented a paddle wheel device worked by hand that was used thereafter. The failure of the steamboats was a material factor in causing the troops to winter at Council Bluff and abandon the project of ascending further up the river. (Chittenden: "*American Fur Trade*," ii, p. 570.) Long's engineering party, undeterred by the experience of the military expedition, made a trip up the Missouri in their specially built steamboat, the *Western Engineer*. The boat occasionally made as much as three miles an hour, but the machinery broke down so often that it was commonly laid up for repairs. (See *Long's Expedition:* James, Reprinted in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, xiv, 39-199.) Atkinson's troops in 1825 did ascend the river to its headwaters. See *infra*, Ed. Preface.

was then in its infancy and was regarded with suspicion. Hand power, on the western rivers, was thought to be better in the long run, just as in modern days, the first automobiles on account of their frequent breakdowns were thought to be less reliable than horses for long distances.

So important, then, was the opening up of an overland route between the two posts, that the Army authorities made it one of four specific undertakings for the troops in the Missouri and Mississippi expeditions for the year 1820, as we learn from a letter of the Quartermaster General to Secretary Calhoun, appended to a report addressed to the House Committee on Military Affairs.[13]

From the opening statement in Kearny's journal it appears that the task was entrusted to Captain Magee, of the Rifle Regiment, Lieutenant Talcott, of the Engineers, and fifteen soldiers. Lieutenant-Colonel Willoughby Morgan, of the Rifle Regiment, Captain Kearny, of the Second Infantry, and two junior officers accompanied the party. Four servants, an Indian guide, his wife and papoose, eight mules and seven horses completed the outfit. The journey from post to post took twenty-three days, and during the latter part of it the explorers had but vague notion of their whereabouts. Their arrival at Camp Cold Water, the destination, produced a great sensation in that garrison, inasmuch as they were the first white persons to cross from the Missouri to the Mississippi River at such distance above the confluence.

The route traversed, in Kearny's estimation, was impracticable for any but small parties. The want of timber, the scarcity of water, and the rugged character of the hills made the region almost impassable, and, as he thought, would forever prevent it from supporting more than a thinly scattered population. Yet in a comparatively short stretch of time this very region opened to considerable settlement, and now embraces northern Iowa and southeastern Minnesota.

The members of the party enjoyed a few days' entertain-

[13] "Military Affairs," *Am. State Papers*, ii, p. 32, No. 4. See also letter of Calhoun, *ibid.*, p. 33, and Pres. Monroe's 4th An. Message, Nov. 14, 1820

ment at the post, as guests of Colonel and Mrs. Leavenworth, and made a visit to the Falls of St. Anthony, before they began their return by boat down the Mississippi. Traveling in flat-boats, they made stops at Prairie du Chien, Fort Armstrong, and other interesting points, the account ending with the arrival at St. Louis.

Stephen Watts Kearny, the writer of the journal, was born in 1794, at Newark, N. J., and lived there some years. He was a student at King's College (now Columbia) in New York City. At the outbreak of the War of 1812, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Thirteenth United States Infantry, and served under Captain John E. Wool. Captured after the Battle of Queenstown, he was soon exchanged. He offered to serve at the head of a marine force in Chauncy's fleet on Lake Erie, but his offer was not accepted. He was made captain, April 1, 1813. After the war he was transferred to the Second Infantry, with headquarters first at Sackett's Harbor, and later at Plattsburg. Probably he accompanied the Sixth Infantry, under Colonel Atkinson, when that regiment went west to form part of the Yellowstone Expedition, for in 1820, when he began this journal, he was at Council Bluff, where a camp had been established by that command in the Spring of that year. In 1821 he went to the Third Infantry, with station at Detroit, but soon afterward transferred to the First Infantry, which had headquarters at Baton Rouge. In 1823 he was brevetted major for ten years' faithful service in one grade. He went with General Atkinson, in 1825, to the headwaters of the Missouri in "The Yellow Stone Expedition"[14] which had been begun and interrupted in 1819. (See *note* 12.) He received his actual majority in May, 1829. He became lieutenant-colonel of the First Dragoons on March 4, 1833, and colonel, July 4, 1836. Soon after the outbreak of the Mexican War he was made brigadier-general, June 30, 1846, and put in charge of the "Army of

[14] The journals of that expedition, by Kearny, Atkinson, and Kennerly, will be published in later numbers of the *Missouri Historical Society Collections.*

the West," which marched to New Mexico, and took possession of that territory. Leaving New Mexico in charge of Colonel Doniphan, of the Missouri Volunteers, he pushed on to California to conduct a campaign there. His gallant and meritorious conduct on the Pacific coast, especially at the Battle of San Pasqual, December 6, 1846, when he was twice wounded, won him a major-generalship. From March to June, 1847, he was Governor of California. Then he went to join the army in Mexico, and became military and civil governor of Vera Cruz, March, 1848, and of the City of Mexico in the following May. He died October 31, 1848,[15] at St. Louis. The funeral was the most imposing ever seen in this city up to that time. The church service was held at St. George's, northwest corner of Locust and Seventh Streets, and the interment was in the Episcopal Cemetery.

THE JOURNAL.

Sunday, July 2d, 1820—at 7 a. m. left Council Bluffs,[16] for the St. Peters,[17] our party consisting of Lieut Col Morgan,[18]

[15] Appleton's *Cyc. Am. Biog.*, iii, p. 496, Billon's *Annals of St. Louis*, and statement of his granddaughter, Mrs. Western Bascome, of St. Louis.

[16] The original "Council Bluff," on the Nebraska side, the scene of Lewis and Clark's council with the Indians (see foot-note, 8). The military post there at the time this journal was written was known as "Camp Missouri."

[17] "St. Peters," now the Minnesota, River. The destination of the party was the military post on the Mississippi at the mouth of the St. Peter's (see foot-note, 6).

[18] WILLOUGHBY MORGAN, born in Virginia. Captain 12th Infantry, 25 March, 1812; Major, 26 June, 1813; retained 17 May, 1815, as Captain in the Rifle Regiment with brevet of Major from 26 June, 1813; Major, 8 March, 1817; Lt. Colonel, 10 Nov., 1818; transferred to 6th Infantry, 1 June, 1821, to 5th Infantry, 1 Oct., 1821, to 3rd Infantry, 31 Jan., 1829; Colonel, 1st Infantry, 23 April, 1830; brevet Colonel, 10 Nov., 1828, for ten years' faithful service in one grade; died, 4 April, 1832. (See Heitman: *Hist. Reg. & Dic. U. S. Army.*)

myself, Capt. Magee,[19] Lieuts. Pentland[20] & Talcot[21] with 15 soldiers, 4 servants, an Indian Guide, his wife & papoose, with 8 mules & 7 horses—Capt. Magee with the 15 soldiers assisted by Lieut. Talcot of the engineers, compose an exploring party to discover a route, across country, between the 2 Posts.

Reached Lisa's[22] about 9 & sent a boat with our mules & horses, & on her return followed her previous track: viz descended the Missouri to the Bowyer[23] & landed on the eastern side of it, a mile from its mouth; a strong southerly wind rendered it difficult to manage our boat. encamped for the night; until 2 P. M. the day was stormy, when it cleared away cool & pleasant.

July 3d.—

during last night a severe storm of rain Thunder & Light-

[19] MATTHEW J. MAGEE, born in Pennsylvania. Captain Pittsburgh Blues, Pennsylvania Volunteers, from Aug., 1812, to Dec., 1813; Captain, 4th U. S. Rifle Regiment, 17 March, 1814; honorably discharged, 15 June, 1815; reinstated, 1 Jan., 1816, as 1st Lieutenant of ordnance with brevet of Captain from 17 March, 1814; Captain, 1 May, 1816, to rank from 10 Feb., 1815; transferred to the Rifle Regiment, 11 Sept., 1818, to 6th Infantry 1 June, 1821, to 5th Infantry, 3 Oct., 1821; died 29 June, 1824.

[20] CHARLES PENTLAND, born in Pennsylvania. Ensign, 4th U. S. Rifles, 16 Sept., 1814; 3rd Lieut., 19 Sept., 1814; retained in the Rifle Regiment, 17 May, 1815; 2d Lieut., 9 Oct., 1817; 1st Lieut., 31 July, 1818; Regimental Adjutant, Feb., 1818, to April, 1821; transferred to 6th Infantry, 1 June, 1821; Regimental Adjutant, 1 June, 1821, to 21 July, 1823; Captain, 21 July, 1823; dismissed 15 Feb., 1826.

[21] ANDREW TALCOTT, born in Connecticut and appointed from there Cadet at the Military Academy, 14 March, 1815; brevet 2d Lieut. of Engineers, 24 July, 1818; 2d Lieut., 14 Aug., 1818; 1st Lieut., 1 Oct., 1820; brevet Captain, 1 Oct., 1830, for ten years' faithful service in one grade; Captain, 22 Dec., 1830; resigned 21 Sept., 1836; (died 22 April, 1883.)

[22] MANUEL LISA, one of the most active persons engaged in the fur trade. Born of Spanish parentage in New Orleans, Sept. 8, 1772, he moved in 1799 to St. Louis, engaged in the fur trade and acquired great influence over the Indians of the upper Missouri. He organized the highly successful St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company and built near the present site of Omaha a trading post that became known as "Fort Lisa." He died in St. Louis Aug. 12, 1820. (A special article on *Manuel Lisa* is in preparation for a later number of the *Collections*.)

[23] "Bowyer," now usually spelt "Boyer."

ning, about 8 A.M. it subsided, when we ordered the boat to Camp which had yesterday ferried us to this place & about 10 left our encampment; passed thro' a low bottom, having on our left a high broken bluff & on the left a ravine & beyond that gently swelling hills, well timbered—crossed the ravine at 1 P. M. & halted to feed, one of our party shot a deer; from here ascended a hill & continued on a high dividing ridge, having on both sides high broken hills; no timber—halted, near a ravine. made today as we suppose 15 miles. Our gen'l course has been about north. the wind is from that quarter & the day has been cool and pleasant.

July 4th.

Left our camp shortly after 6 A. M., & traveled over rolling prairies, but indifferently watered, & reached the Bowyer at 1 P.M. a distance of 12 miles—from hence proceeding in a paralel direction to the river, crossed two ravines (with water) & reached a third where we encamped—our course today has been a little *E* of North—made 20 miles. The Bowyer is but thinly clothed with wood, tho' frequently the highlands in the rear are well covered. The day cool & pleasant, & wind North East. This day being the anniversary of our Independence, we celebrated it, to the extent of our means; an extra gill of whiskey was issued to each man, & we made our dinner on pork & biscuit & drank to the memory of our forefathers in a *mint julup.* Lieut. Talcot took an observation & found our camp to be 41° 49¾′—

July 5th.

On awakening this morning, found my blankets as wet as if they had been thrown into the river. I have frequently had occasion to remark the excessive dews that fall in this section of the country. Crossed the ravine, & at 7 A.M., our party was again on its march; followed the river course, a little E. of North and being in the advance of the party, rode to the summit of the Bluff on our right & on a broken & barren spot was attacked by a swarm of small wasps, with yellow wings & very small heads & not being disposed to contest the

Modern Map Showing Route Taken by the Exploring Party (1820) in Crossing from the Missouri to the Mississippi River.

point, for the dominion of that tract, of which they were the previous Inhabitants, I made a rapid retreat, not however until I was severely stung by some of the most enraged.— crossed the Bowyer at 1 P.M. ten miles from last night's camp, & 45 from the mouth; the water here being 3 foot deep— from this the Western shore of the river assumed the character the eastern had in the rear, viz a bottom, extending half a mile from the water & hills gently rising from it; a few miles brought us to a ravine, with a good spring & after crossing it, took a North course, & passed over a continuation of very high, broken hills, with no timber, & but indifferent soil; reached a small creek, where we encamped, with wood enough to make us a fire & supply our other wants; it empties into the Bowyer, about a half mile from us; made today 21 miles; weather cool, clear & pleasant.

July 6th.

Started at 7 A.M.—

Last night we found quite cool, & three blankets, for a covering, were by no means uncomfortable. The mosquitoes, however, were very troublesome & tho' I am benefitted by Lieut. Talcot's *mosquito net*, we had not sufficiently secured it to prevent the entrance of these annoying little insects—

Crossed the creek, which we called Morgan's[24] Creek, & were engaged till 11 A.M. in continually *de- & ascending* high hills, with no indication of timber, or of a single tree, when we halted on a ravine with a little water for our dinner, having previously crossed two others, of a similar character—at 1 P.M., recommenced our march, & after proceeding a few miles, saw from the summit of a high hill some timber, to the West, at however, a very great distance; from this point the hills commence running in a different direction, viz *N. & S* & we find the traveling somewhat easier, as we are enabled to take advantage of the ridges—halted at sunset, near a small drain of water, but without wood, having made 22 miles & over a country, tho' without timber, yet pretty well watered by small drains—

[24] In honor of the senior officer accompanying the expedition.

The dull monotony of traveling over the Prairies is occasionally interrupted by the feats of *Horsemanship* displayed by our squaw, & the affection & gallantry shewn toward her & her Papoose (an infant of but Four months old) by the Indian Guide.

Four of our party went in pursuit of a *gang of elk* which we observed, a mile from our camp, but returned unsuccessful, about 9 P.M.

July 7th.

In consequence of having no timber, & being desirous of procuring some, started at 4 A.M. & continued our course North, for 10 miles, when we halted on a ravine for breakfast. The country is gradually assuming a more level appearance & many elk are seen, to the right & left of us, but at too great a distance to pursue—we have headed the Head waters of the *Soldier river*, which is laid down on the maps incorrectly; inasmuch as it is made to appear a very considerable stream, & having its source near the Racoon branch, of the Des Moines; proceeded on our route; saw many gangs of buck elks, & some of our party fired at them, but at too great distance to kill any; shot a badger, which was given to the Guide, who has been all day very sick, in consequence of living on salt provisions, which he is unaccustomed to—halted at 6 P.M., on a ravine, with no timber, the want of which we begin to feel—made today 21 miles.

July 8th.

During last night we experienced a severe storm of rain, accompanied by Thunder & Lightning, which from our exposed situation, in the open Prairie, we find by no means agreeable.

Started, at 5 A.M. at which time it cleared away & ten miles from camp, left the Party & the route they were pursuing, & rode a mile to the Eastward & saw a mound which had been erected seven years since over the remains of an Indian

chief, of the *Sioux Nation;* this mound is circular, the diameter of which is 12 feet, elevation 6, & having a pole of 12 feet standing in the centre—'Tis on a high hill which overlooks a vast extent of country— About noon, observed a large Bull buffaloe, which a few of us pursued—Having the fleetest horse, I rode in front, & shot three pistol balls into him, not more than at 10 feet distance, two more balls were afterward fired into him, when he fell; we chased him about 2 miles; he is very large, & would weigh a thousand weight. proceded & reached a fine stream, 20 yards wide, which our guide says is the *Leve Grave,* a branch of the Sioux, & so called from a trader of that name having first traded with the Indians on this river; sent back four mules to bring up the buffaloe, which some men have been left to butcher, & having got some timber, determined to remain here, 'til tomorrow, having made 16 miles, & after traveling 59, without the use of wood, and with the exception of a single hill, without sight of any—we welcomed the fire as an old acquaintance & soon banqueted upon a buffaloe feast, the meat of which is far preferable to our common beef—

Near the banks of this river, the country is much broken—high steep hills, with scattered stones, the last of which we have seen little or nothing of during our journey.

N.B. The above Indian was named *Shaton de Tou* (Red Hawk),[25] was a powerful chief of the Sissetons[26] (a band of the Sioux) & was the first that visited the Prophet (about the time of the Declaration of War) on the Wabash, from his tribe & he excited his whole nation to take up arms against the Americans.

We saw today many elk in the Prairie, but were unable to approach near enough to shoot any—

[25] Red Hawk was one of the chiefs in the large party of Sioux, allies of the British, that were with Gen. Proctor and Col. Robert Dickson in 1813 in the attack on Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, which was gallantly defended by Major George Croghan (Grignon's *Recollections,* 3 *Wis. Hist. Collections,* p. 270.)

[26] Sissetons [Sussitongs or Sissitonwans], a band of the Sioux numbering according to Gen. Zebulon Pike about 2160 at the time of his expedition, 1805-7.

July 9th. Sunday—

The squaw this morning quite sick, in consequence of eating too greedily of the Buffaloe.

We were detained until about 4 P.M., in order to jerk our fresh meat, & during which time Lieut. Talcot took an observation, & found our Camp to be in Lat. 42°58′ & we conclude we have underrated the distance we have traveled about 10 miles— When about to start, found the river had risen two or three feet, & therefore we determined to travel round the bend, & not cross it, tho' our distance may probably be lengthened 5 or 6 miles—crossed over some high hills, & reached a handsome stream of water quite deep & ten yards wide, emptying into the *Leve Grave*, over which we felled some trees, on which our baggage was crossed, & having swam our horses and mules, encamped on a narrow point, surrounded by high hills & on the creek, which we called *Mary's Stream*— having made about 4 miles.

July 10th.

During last night, we had some rain, with Thunder & Lightning; the mosquitoes we found so excessively annoying as almost to exhaust all our patience.

Left camp, at 6 A.M., passed over some high hills, well covered with granite and limestone, & the scattered groves of box alder on the Leve Grave give to the scenery a handsome effect—saw a gang of about 200 *she elks*, but they were too much alarmed, at our appearance, to suffer us to approach nearer than 400 yards to them—at this season of the year the males & females run separately, & the former shew, by far, much more curiosity, for they frequently come within 150 yards, to discover what we are; saw some wolves & sand cranes, and crossed two or three of the Sioux trails, none, however, lately traveled; reached a fine sulphur spring, strongly impregnated, & halted for our dinner— The morning very warm & sultry; but a little rain about 11 A. M. cleared the atmosphere when it was cool and pleasant.

At 4 P.M. when about to proceed the wind hauled round from the *S-East* to the *N.West* & it commenced raining, when

we determined to pitch our camp & remain here for the night, having made today 15 miles & in consequence of the Guide's wish not to cross the river, & it holding here nearly a *S.East* course, we were compelled to steer accordingly, about sun down it cleared away, when the most perfect and beautiful rainbow, that I had ever beheld, presented itself to our view.

July 11*th.*

During last night, we experienced a very hard rain, which subsided at day break, & at 8 A.M. we left our encampment, our course *N.East,* & we passed over some level Prairies of considerable extent on the high lands, saw small scattering stones of Limestone, granite & Quartz—discovered a large drove of Buffaloe to our left, probably 5 thousand, but not being in want of provisions; They being 3 or 4 miles out of our course, and the clouds having indicated a storm, we pursued our course, but soon fell upon a drove of about 100, to which several of us gave chase, & out of which a *yearling* was obtained, after a half mile chase;—after being butchered, he was mounted on one of our horses, and with our prize we proceded and overtook the main party, at *Elk Lake,* where we encamped, for the night, having made 17 miles.—

The guide today gave me what he called *Pome De Prairie* (Prairie apple) which he found & which he says the Indians are very fond of—I ate of it; its taste resembling that of a *Buckeye nut;* its shape a Pear, & the color being whitish.

Elk Lake, nearly circular, & the circumference being about 4 miles, is of handsome clear water, & derives its name from the circumstances of a Party of Indians having driven a large gang of Elk, in the winter season, on the ice, when their weight broke it, & they thus fell a sacrifice to their crafty pursuers; its banks are gently sloping and covered with sand & pebbles; & a thin growth of timber, with the reflection of the Sun on the water, & the knowledge of our being so far separated from our friends, & civilized society, irresistibly enforce upon us an impression of gloomy beauty—From this Lake is an outlet which leads to the Leve Grave.

Some of our party killed, on the banks of the river, a Fisher, who, however, did not give up his life without a struggle, nor without shewing much fierceness of disposition.

Saw in the Prairie a Missouri Fox, a beautiful animal, & whose fur is much celebrated for its softness, &c.

By Lieut. Talcot's observation, our camp on Elk Lake is in Lat. 43° 11′ 3″

July 12*th.*

Left camp at 6 A.M., & after holding a *N.East* course for about 10 miles, over Prairies occasionally level, & then rolling, reached the river Des Moines[27] (having headed the Racoon branch of it) over which without much difficulty we found a fording place, & crossed—The river is handsomely covered with timber, & its waters clean & bottom sandy. About ten leagues to the *N.West* of our crossing place is Spirit Lake, at the Head of Sioux river, respecting which the Indians have a curious tradition; viz that the Great Spirit resides in this Lake, & that nothing ever leaves it which once enters it; our Indian Guide informs me that he does not give credit to this story tho' he believes that a monster with horns lives here & the circumstances of a whirlpool being in the center, afford the foundation for his nation's story.

After leaving the Des Moines & traveling 3 miles, reached a Lake, a mile in circumference, where we halted for our dinner; & after obtaining which proceded & traveled over a Prairie, for about 10 miles, a great part of which is low, wet, & marshy, & having made today 23 miles halted on the *Little Blue Earth River,* for the night.

The wind today has been blowing from the *N.West* & cool, raw & blustering.

July 13*th.*

At 7 A.M., crossed the river (water a foot deep) & which our Guide now calls *Point Coupee,* & adds that it empties into the Blue Earth River—ascended high Prairies—Passed

[27] Probably the west fork of the Des Moines.

by many large granite & other stones, halted for our dinner, in an open Prairie near a marsh, from which we obtained some water—When about to proceed, saw a drove of 100 Buffaloe passing from N. to South a half mile in our rear. In the afternoon crossed many of their trails, & continuing our course nearly East, reached at Sun down an old bed of a river, with high banks, about a Quarter or half a mile wide, which with a little difficulty we crossed; the water & mire being occasionally *belly deep,* to our horses and mules; saw another drove of Buffaloe, which some of the party fired at, but without success. Reached at dark a small stream, which the Guide says is the same we slept on last night, when we encamped, having traveled today 22 miles, without seeing the least indication of timber, without finding water, excepting in the marshes, & it being over the high dividing ridge, which separate the Head waters of the streams that flow into the Missouri from those that empty into the Mississippi.

For an hour or two, after our reaching the camp, we found the mosquitoes so troublesome as almost to prevent our doing anything; & But few persons, who have not felt the inconvenience attending a visit from them would willingly assent to a relation of them.

The day was cool & pleasant, wind from the North, & the night quite cold—

July 14*th.*

Started, at 7 A.M. traveled 18 miles over a level & low prairie, saw a prairie wolf, which I believe, from his appearance, to be a very near relation to the animal that was pointed out to me, on the 11th Inst., as a Missouri Fox—Two of the party shot a Buck Elk (4 years old) of about 300 w't. Encamped at a small point of wood near a little pond, with good & cool water. Our course today has been *S. of East*—the Lat of our camp agreeably to observation, is 43° 7′ n.

July 15*th.*

The air, last night, quite cool, & the dew fell very heavy,

& to these causes are we indebted for sweet & refreshing slumbers; inasmuch as the mosquitoes disappear, when the others commence.

Left camp at 7 A.M., steered our course *N.East*, over handsome Prairies tho' of but indifferent soil, our route laying between two extensive groves of timber, which we observed yesterday morning, on our right & left, & as far off as the eye could reach; they have been gradually approximating & we are in hopes at that point of ascertaining where we are, at present being in much doubt, inasmuch as we have trusted entirely to our Guide & his knowledge being rather imperfect—halted on a ravine for dinner. From this point observed at a short distance a Buffaloe cow, with her calf, which two of the party with their rifles went in pursuit of & Col. Morgan, Lieut. Talcot & myself followed in the rear, to give chase in case of the failure of the former. They fired when the *cow & calf* started off, & we riders in pursuit. The chase lasted for about a mile, when having fired two or three pistol balls into the Cow & she having received more from the others, we found ourselves in possession of her, & weighing 400 w't. In the afternoon reached the point of junction of the two groves of timber, & passing thro' it reached a small creek at Sundown when we encamped with an extensive Prairie in our front, & Timber stretching from the West to East at a great distance from us.

Made today 18 miles & at the point of encampment found an excellent spring of pure & cold water.

About 100 w't of our jerked Beef being spoiled, we were obliged to leave it for the wolves, but its place was well supplied by the Fresh Buffaloe we obtained immediately afterwards—

We saw & heard many rattlesnakes but they are not an object of much terror to our Indian Guide, in as much as the Prairie contains a plenty of the *Bois Blanc De Prairie* (white wood of the Prairie) & *La Painet*[28] the decoction of whose

[28] Probably meant for *Paigne*, which is given in Baillou's *Dictionnaire* as an American name for *Chimaphila Umbellata*, also known as 'Prince's Pine' and 'Pipsissewa.'

roots are considered a speedy & infalliable cure for the severest sting from them.

July 16*th. Sunday.*

With a fine clear Sunshiny morning left camp, at 7 A. M. crossed the creek, called *Bois Frent* (hard wood) with a Rocky bottom. Took a *North* course; crossed a fresh trail over which we presume a party of Dozen Indians must have passed yesterday—continued our course over gently rolling Prairies, for the distance of 14 miles when we reached the woods, consisting of oak—

a mile from this point reached a marsh running across our route, which detained us an hour & a half in crossing over our baggage &c.

In the afternoon, pursued our course *N.East* thro' the woods, with thick underbrush, for the distance of 5 miles, & after crossing and recrossing a stream, about 10 yards wide, with gravelly bottom, encamped on a point of woods, with an extensive Prairie to the *East.*—

For a few days past we have been gradually losing all confidence in our Guide as regards his knowledge of this part of the country; he is himself considerably chagrined & mortified at his own ignorance, & his squaw this evening was seen weeping, most piteously, & no doubt thro' fear least, as her *Lord & Master* has failed in his pledge of conducting us in a direct route to our point of destination, we should *play Indian* with him, viz. sacrifice him on the altar of his ignorance; A Tin of soup from our mess to the squaw quieted her apprehension & some kind words satisfied the Indians & they once more retired to their rest, apparently in good humor & spirits.

Made today 19 miles & our camp, by observation, is in Lat. 43° 29′ N.

July 17*th.*

Started about 7 A.M., passed over a Prairie of much low & marshy ground, for the distance of 8 miles, when we reached another grove of timber, with scattering oak & no underbrush, which we passed thro', for 5 miles, & halted for dinner, after

which, parting with our Guide, he to endeavor to ascertain our situation, we proceded & passed over a Prairie of 5 miles, & crossing a ravine, halted on its banks & pitched our camp. at this time it commenced raining very hard, & continued for two hours when the Indian rejoined us, but still appearing ignorant of the surrounding country.

Made today 18 miles, our course *N.East.*

July 18*th.*

Morning cloudy, & drizzling—started about 7 A.M.; course East; one mile brought us to a river, 20 yards wide, knee deep, with stony bottom, and running from N to *South* with a current of a mile & a half an hour, & the handsomest stream of water we have seen, since we left the Bowyer; we do not know what to call it; our Guide thinks it the St. Peters.[29]

Continued our course over some handsome Prairies, well surrounded with timber, & which would admit of very beautiful farms—crossed a ravine & halted at noon, when Lieut. Col. Morgan, Lieut. Talcot & myself, with the Guide, rode about six miles, to the South, to ascertain if the river we crossed this morning bended to the Easterly, that we might satisfy ourselves, whether or no, it is the St. Peters. Returned to the party of a contrary opinion, when we again proceded, & holding a *N.East* course, thro' handsome groves of timber, reached another ravine having made 14 miles & encamped for the night.

Four of the party went out in pursuit of game, but returned unsuccessful.

July 19*th.*

Our provisions being nearly exhausted, & the uncertainty of the relative situation between ourselves & the St. Peters, leaving it doubtful when we shall reach the Post, at its mouth, we rose early & at 5 A.M. took up our line of march.

The cause of our uncertainty, existing among us, arises from the differences of the *Lat.* of the mouth of St. Peters, as laid

[29] Probably it was the Red Cedar River. They could not have been within 75 miles of the St. Peter's at this time.

down on the maps, & as made by Maj. Long, Topo. Engineer, we giving credit, to the latter, but our Indian insisting, that we have crossed the St. Peters & the maps, seem, to strengthen, his opinion.[30]

The morning quite cool & cloudy, & being determined to pursue a *N.E.* course 'til we strike the St. Peters, or Mississippi from either of which we shall be able to ascertain our situation, we steered accordingly—crossed the ravine & passed over a gently rolling Prairie for the distance of 10 miles, which brought us to a point of timber on another ravine, & which here turns at right angles & runs to the East; continued our course, which brought us to a small drain of water, on the steep banks of which we found regular strata of sand stone, & extending for some distance—crossed over more prairies, & thro' woodland & halted after dark without wood, or water, & tho' supperless, & shelterless, we were all soon lost in quiet repose: we made today about 31 miles.

July 20th.

During last night we had a little rain, started at 4 A.M., crossed over some very high hills, well covered with wood, & much underbrush, making the traveling exceedingly difficult, & after 2 miles halted on the banks of a handsome stream,

[30] They were of course mistaken in their conjecture that they had crossed the St. Peter's. As a matter of fact they never saw that river until they reached their destination at its junction with the Mississippi. In the London edition (1823) of James's *Long's Expedition*, there is a map, which is reproduced by Thwaites in his *Early Western Travels*, xiv, p. 30, that shows an overland route from Council Bluff to the St. Peter's, designated as "Lt. Talcott's route in 1820." If this purported to be the route taken by our party, as seems likely from the date and the fact that Talcott was the engineer officer with it, the map is in that respect inaccurate, for it indicates that the party reached the St. Peter's, at its southernmost bend, and followed down to its mouth. As will be seen from further reading of the journal the party first reached the Mississippi at Lake Pepin, and thence ascended that river to the mouth of the St. Peter's. There is a possibility that the route shown may have been a later one taken by Talcott, for in 1820 Lewis Cass wrote Calhoun recommending Talcott as a suitable person to conduct an expedition *up the St. Peter's*, a recommendation naturally following upon, though not necessarily implying an acquaintance with, the region resulting from an earlier expedition, that is to say, this one.—Ed.

(which we had crossed,) 12 yards wide, sandy bottom, & 2 or 3 feet deep, for the purpose of cooking & eating. we here took a farewell meal on the last of our pork & bread; a little parched corn is still reserved; proceded, at 8 A.M., ascended a high hill & struck on a very broken country— Two miles to the right of our course, discerned a high promontory, & accompanied by Lieut. T. we rode to it; on ascending which, we found ourselves about 70 feet higher than the surrounding country& with the assistance of our spyglass, were enabled to see a very great distance in every direction; & tho' beautiful & interesting objects were presented to us, we were not able to gain any satisfactory information relative to our situation; rejoined the party & continuing our course, descended a very steep declivity, & following a ravine for a short distance reached a river[31] 30 yards wide 5 feet deep, with a stony bottom & which many of the party believe to be the St. Peters; halted on its banks & remained 'til sundown, when we crossed over to the *N.* side, & encamped for the night, having made 11 miles. The river is well bordered by oak, pine, white ash, & slippery elm, & in its vicinity we discovered sand & limestone- During the afternoon some of the men were employed in fishing, but without success. The Indian shot 3 geese, which were distributed to the party— Lieut. T. here lost an eye glass belonging to his Telescope, whose place was supplied with a microscope, & at night, taking an observation, found our camp to be 44° 18′ N. Lat.

July 21st.

In consequence of a little fog on the water, or some other cause equally as unimportant, we remained 'til 8 A.M., during which time we took our breakfast on our portion of the geese, & leaving the river, ascended a high & broken hill & then passing thro' a thick cluster of timber, with much underbrush, for a mile, descended another hill & found ourselves in a beautiful valley 250 yards wide, & bordered by high & broken ridges, following which, about two miles, ascended the

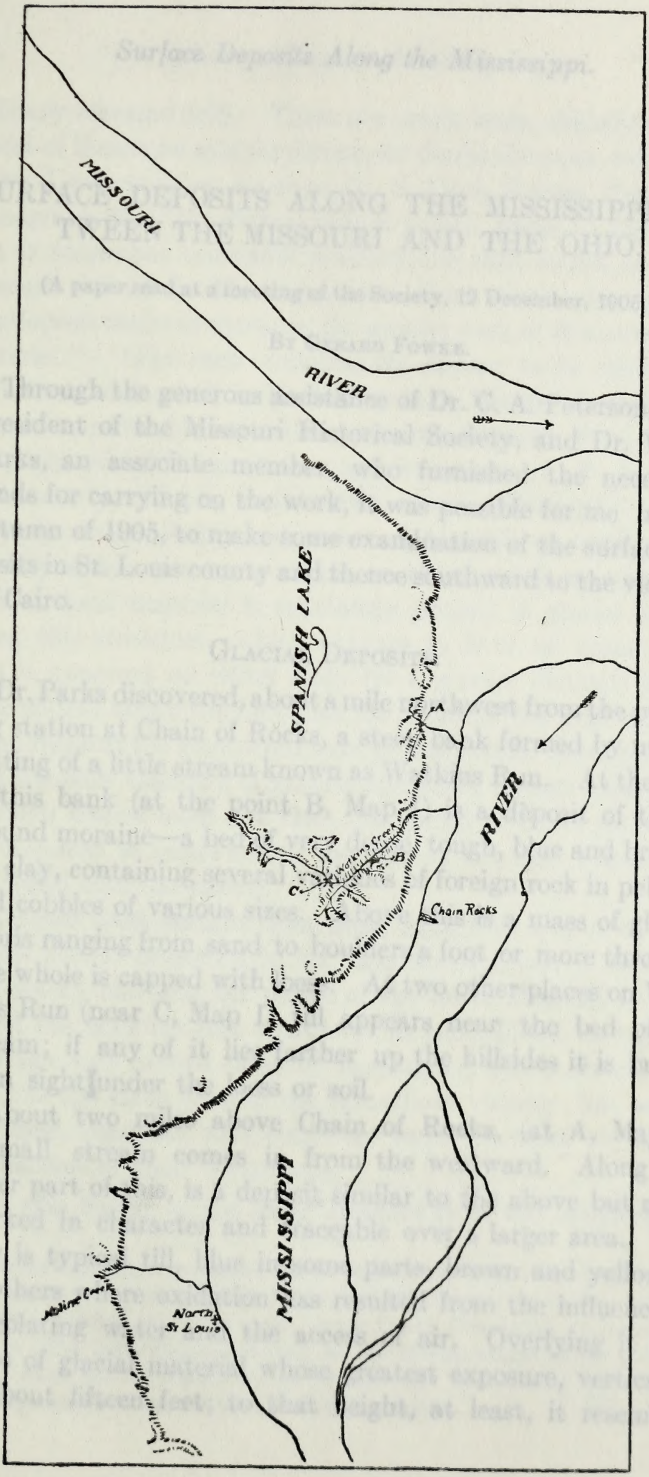
[31] Probably the Zumbro River.

left ridge, & having with much difficulty & exertion passed over many high, broken & precipitous hills, halted, at noon, to rest, tho' without water; proceded at 2 P.M. & reached a small drain of water, & having lately suffered much inconvenience from the want of it, we here filled our canteens & kegs—saw two deer, neither of which were we able to shoot. this is the only game we have seen for several days, except the geese which were shot & many Prairie hens, but being armed only with rifles, & these hens not to be discovered in the grass, & only seen when flying, we are not able to shoot them—about 4 P.M. when every one of the party was much fatigued with traveling, & almost exhausted by a scorching sun & empty stomachs, with much anxiety of mind respecting our situation, we discovered from a high ridge the Mississippi river, & freshening up, we with light hearts & quick steps soon reached its water, at which point we observed a boat on the opposite shore & after hailing, for a considerable time, a canoe, with 3 Sioux Indians, with much precaution approached us. From these we learn the river we left this morning to be the Pine,[32] that we are now at Lake Pepin, & that the Boat opposite has plenty of provisions; some of the party took the Indians' canoe, & paddled to them obtained pork, bread, & whiskey.

This supply, so perfectly unexpected, saved us the trouble of butchering one of our mules, which we had determined on & which we should have done this evening, a selection having been made, & our appetites perfectly prepared. Made to-day 14 miles. About 10 P.M., twelve Indians, the remainder of the party to which the others belong, came over, & after presenting each with some tobacco, they lay down and slept in our camp.

[32] Now known as the Zumbro.

(To be continued.)


NORTH
MISSOURI
RIVER
SPANISH LAKE
A
B
C
Chain Rocks
RIVER
MISSISSIPPI
North St. Louis

Map I.

SURFACE DEPOSITS ALONG THE MISSISSIPPI BETWEEN THE MISSOURI AND THE OHIO.

(A paper read at a meeting of the Society, 12 December, 1905.)

By Gerard Fowke.

Through the generous assistance of Dr. C. A. Peterson, then President of the Missouri Historical Society, and Dr. W. F. Parks, an associate member, who furnished the necessary funds for carrying on the work, it was possible for me in the autumn of 1905, to make some examination of the surface deposits in St. Louis county and thence southward to the vicinity of Cairo.

Glacial Deposits.

Dr. Parks discovered, about a mile northwest from the pumping station at Chain of Rocks, a steep bank formed by undercutting of a little stream known as Watkins Run. At the foot of this bank (at the point B, Map I) is a deposit of till or ground moraine—a bed of very dense, tough, blue and brownish clay, containing several varieties of foreign rock in pebbles and cobbles of various sizes. Above this is a mass of glacial debris ranging from sand to boulders a foot or more through. The whole is capped with loess. At two other places on Watkins Run (near C, Map I) till appears near the bed of the stream; if any of it lies farther up the hillsides it is buried from sight under the loess or soil.

About two miles above Chain of Rocks, (at A, Map I) a small stream comes in from the westward. Along the lower part of this, is a deposit similar to the above but more marked in character and traceable over a larger area. The clay is typical till, blue in some parts, brown and yellowish in others where oxidation has resulted from the influence of percolating water and the access of air. Overlying it is a mass of glacial material whose greatest exposure, vertically, is about fifteen feet; to that height, at least, it resembles

ordinary moraine drift. There are many large, slightly worn pieces of limestone and sandstone, no doubt the same referred to by Leverett when he says (U. S. Geol. Survey Reports, Monograph 38, "The Illinois Glacial Lobe," pages 35 and 64), "It is somewhat uncertain whether the drift found on the Missouri side of the Mississippi is of direct glacial deposition or a deposit made by streams; the greater part of it is assorted material." "The rock constituents appear to be different from those of the drift in Madison county, Illinois, there being present considerable material apparently brought down from the exposures of the sandstone and limestone * * in Calhoun county, Illinois, and Lincoln county, Missouri." But Leverett was probably not aware of the till, as until very recently it has not been visible at either point mentioned. Besides, local material is constantly present in glacial drift. Along this streamlet—which appears to have no name—no drift is apparent on either slope for a greater distance than 20 to 25 feet above the foot; but the owner of the field on top of the ridge to the southward says he has several times struck with the plow boulders of granite and other foreign rock, one of which was of such size that the united effort of six men was required to remove it to the edge of the field whence it was rolled into the ravine.

It would seem certain from these facts that a spur of the Illinois glacier projected to the hills about Chain of Rocks, temporarily blocking the outlet of the lower Missouri river.[1]

Had the boulders just mentioned as being found on top of the ridge been carried there by floating ice, others should be found at the same level in the immediate vicinity; but none have been reported, and numerous inquiries failed to elicit information of their occurrence.

But this barrier to the lower Missouri river was inconsider-

[1] During its greatest extension the ice-sheet crossed the Missouri river in Saline county and completely obliterated the stream above that point. The lower portion was kept open by the Osage, Gasconade, and smaller streams. The loess deposits belong to the closing stages of the glacial epoch, when the ice-front was on or near the continental watershed between northward and southward-flowing streams.

able in height and of short duration. There is no indication of such a channel as would necessarily result if floods having the magnitude of those which poured off the ice sheet, had torn their way across the divide between the two rivers. A short distance below the reservoirs of the City waterworks, near the top of the hill is a bed of foreign sand, gravel, and pebbles, whose position and character can be best explained by referring it to the outwash from the glacier front. While plainly due to running water, the amount and direction of slope, where this can be traced, renders it improbable that the deposit is due to currents of a stream, no matter of what size, directed and controlled by the bluffs which limit the spread of the Mississippi. A deposit of loess rests unconformably upon and against the steep face of this glacial detritus; another evidence of its early and independent origin.

Ancient Channels.

A possible outlet for the flood water was sought first by way of the ravines opening to the northward from the hill behind Chain of Rocks; but these head on the table-land within a short distance. The depression occupied by Spanish Lake was next examined; but between it and the cement mill the summit cut of the Burlington railway is through bed-rock and there is no evidence on either side of it of ancient banks or shore lines. Spanish Lake itself occupies a low, broad valley which seems once to have had a constantly widening open way to the Missouri; whether the lake is due to an immense sinkhole, or to a dam of glacial or loess material somewhere in the vicinity of its outlet, remains to be worked out.

The only remaining locality where there seemed a chance that this part of the Missouri river may have temporarily taken a new course across St. Louis county, is the Meramec valley. Between Pacific and Labaddie stations on the Missouri Pacific railway, is a low, wide depression with the highest point, near Gray's Summit, only about 200 feet higher than the Missouri. At first view, this valley forcibly impresses one as an old waterway, the broad stretch of rolling or

nearly level fields, bounded on each side by rugged hills, having a remarkable resemblance to abandoned water courses in glaciated or mountainous regions where streams were diverted by ice-dams or by warping of the surface under stress of movements which resulted in the formation of mountain ranges. But a cursory, and perhaps entirely insufficient, examination failed to show any glacial material, any shore line, or any trace of a channel; and the absence of such evidence precludes the supposition that the Missouri had any part in its formation. So much being settled, the alternative hypothesis is that we have here a former passageway of the Meramec to the Missouri. Near Gray's Summit an uplift of the strata brings sandstone near to the surface across this old valley; and this, if the Meramec ever held such a course, would suffice to pond up the stream until it found another outlet over a lower ridge toward the east. This suggestion, however, is not to be considered a statement of fact, but merely as a surmise or possibility, worthy of further investigation. The true explanation may be simply that the approximately parallel sandstone ridges to the north and south, bounding this valley, were better calculated to resist weathering than were the strata of limestone and sandstone lying between them, and so are left at their present elevation by the more rapid dissolution of the intervening rock.

Altogether, it seems probable that the extension of the ice sheet across the mouth of the Missouri was sufficient to carry it only to the top of the bordering bluff; that it had not the requisite height, or thickness, to raise the water much above the lowest hilltops; and that it was cut or melted away before the relatively small amount of water that escaped around its margin had time to make, on the high lands, any marks which could last until the present time.

Lafayette Formation.

Brodhead records the occurrence of gravel, which he thought might be of glacial origin, at the head of Hamilton creek, which falls into the Meramec at Glencoe. The creek has its

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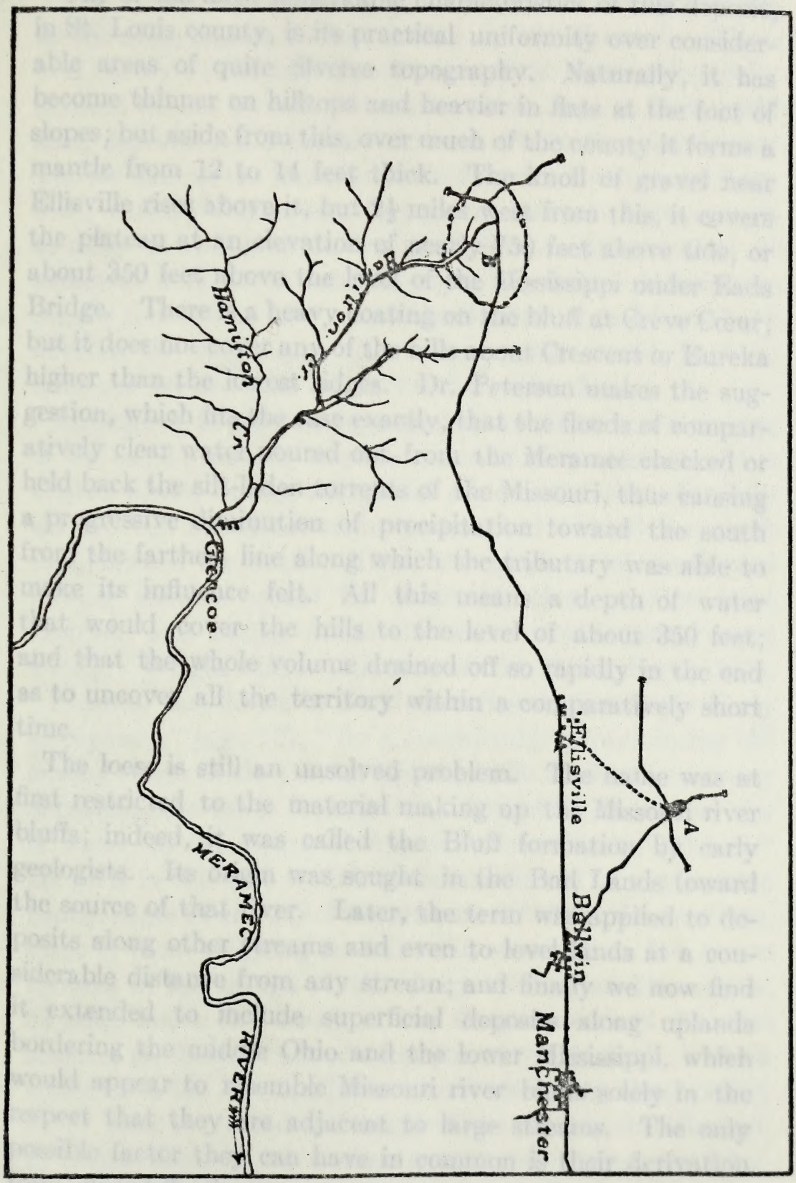
beginning about five miles to the north, its ultimate branches reaching the top of the ridge at the old Manchester, or State, road. Excellent vertical sections can be seen at various points in the vicinity of B, Map II, where the gravel has been stripped in order to reach the clay beneath, upon which it rests irregularly and unconformably. The material is almost entirely quartz and quartzite in various forms, with some cherts and jaspers; but careful search over hundreds of square yards failed to show a single pebble of the nature composing the great bulk of the drift. It is all water-worn and closely packed. At first, below the hill-top, there seems no room for doubt that we have here an old lake shore; but on ascending to the summit of the hill and finding exactly the same material exposed in road cuttings, ravines, and on hillsides; and learning that it is found in nearly every cellar, cistern, or other excavation beneath four to eight feet of soil or loess; that at this average depth it caps the plateau for nearly eight miles with a maximum breadth of about two miles;—it is plain that no lake could have had such a shore line. Nor is there any source near at hand whence such material could be derived. For the latter reason, too, the Meramec is excluded as a possible carrier in past geologic times; if the gravel had been brought from the Ozarks, it would be found all along the way. Finally, when it is ascertained that the highest land in St. Louis county, a knoll about a mile and a half north-east of Ellisville (A, Map II), is composed entirely of identical material, the conclusion is inevitable that it dates back to a period when this region was emerging from the ocean.

Dr. WJ McGee has since identified it as belonging to the Lafayette formation, and consequently much older than glacial deposits.

Loess.

It is not the purpose of this paper to deal with any question concerning the origin of loess or the methods of its distribution, further than may be necessary in recording observed facts.


NORTH
Hamilton Cr.
Hamilton Cr.
Gravois
Ellisville
Baldwin
Manchester
MERAMEC
RIVER

Map II.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of this deposit, in St. Louis county, is its practical uniformity over considerable areas of quite diverse topography. Naturally, it has become thinner on hilltops and heavier in flats at the foot of slopes; but aside from this, over much of the county it forms a mantle from 12 to 14 feet thick. The knoll of gravel near Ellisville rises above it, but 2½ miles west from this, it covers the plateau at an elevation of nearly 750 feet above tide, or about 350 feet above the level of the Mississippi under Eads Bridge. There is a heavy coating on the bluff at Creve Cœur; but it does not cover any of the hills about Crescent or Eureka higher than the lowest ridges. Dr. Peterson makes the suggestion, which fits the case exactly, that the floods of comparatively clear water poured out from the Meramec checked or held back the silt-laden torrents of the Missouri, thus causing a progressive diminution of precipitation toward the south from the farthest line along which the tributary was able to make its influence felt. All this means a depth of water that would cover the hills to the level of about 350 feet; and that the whole volume drained off so rapidly in the end as to uncover all the territory within a comparatively short time.

The loess is still an unsolved problem. The name was at first restricted to the material making up the Missouri river bluffs; indeed, it was called the Bluff formation by early geologists. Its origin was sought in the Bad Lands toward the source of that river. Later, the term was applied to deposits along other streams and even to level lands at a considerable distance from any stream; and finally we now find it extended to include superficial deposits along uplands bordering the middle Ohio and the lower Mississippi, which would appear to resemble Missouri river bluffs solely in the respect that they are adjacent to large streams. The only possible factor they can have in common is their derivation from glacial floods.

However, it is not within the province of this article, which is entirely local, to discuss these matters.

The loess in St. Louis county is of the same nature and due to the same causes, as that farther up the Missouri. Whatever theory will explain the existence of the latter will equally account for the former. The question at issue is, How could such deposits reach the elevation at which they are found? The ice-dam at the junction of the two rivers was, as we have seen, entirely inadequate because it was not high enough to raise the water to the required level, neither was it of sufficient duration to hold it long at any level. Besides, no matter how it may have raised the Missouri, it could not have affected the Mississippi; and consequently would have no influence on the loess formations below St. Louis.

Geologists, in general, have agreed that there was a sinking of the earth's surface, relative to sea-level, over much of the United States during the glacial period, and that this subsidence was somewhat more pronounced toward the north than toward the south. Thus, the gradient of southward flowing streams would be decreased, their current more sluggish, and during floods the water would spread more widely. Wright states (Records of the Past, Jany., 1905, "Physical Conditions in North America during Man's Early Occupancy," page 15), "for a considerable period during the closing stages of the Glacial Epoch, while the loess was being deposited, the lower Missouri was subject to an annual rise of water, in the month of August, amounting to 200 feet." He finds in this fact (which he demonstrates) an explanation (same, pages 21 and 24) of the presence of "Canadian boulders, some of them weighing several tons, occurring on low gravel terraces in the trough of the Osage river, near Tuscumbia, 65 miles above the mouth of the Osage river, and 40 miles south of the farthest actual extension of the glacier." "Back water from the Missouri River would set up the Osage valley * * until it reached the height of the flood in the Missouri. It would therefore be a most natural result that small ice-floes or icebergs bearing Canadian boulders, which were floating down the Missouri, should be carried by back water a long distance up the Osage. * * As the elevation of the

terrace * * in which these boulders are found, is only about 150 feet above the Missouri, it is easy to see that they could have readily been brought there in this manner."

Professor Wright might have added that if only a few inches of an iceberg projected above the surface of still water, a strong, steady wind could move it forty miles in a very short time.

But the loess is found at a much greater elevation than 200 feet above the Missouri at many points in St. Louis county, particularly near Ellisville where, as above stated, it is nearly twice that height. Clearly, the Missouri torrents were, in some manner, debarred from a free discharge at the level indicated by Professor Wright; and as the obstruction was neither land nor ice, it could only have been water. At this period, the Mississippi also received an immense volume of water from the melting ice sheet; and, furthermore, was reinforced by the Illinois, similarly swollen. Opposite Montezuma, sixty miles north of Grafton, the Illinois bottom-land, three miles in width, is bordered by bluffs fully 100 feet high which are strikingly like those above Kansas City in their conical summits, sharp ridges, and steep, barren slopes. It is quite probable that the combined discharge of these two streams fully equaled that of the Missouri. In other words, the Mississippi at Alton attained a flood height of about 200 feet above its normal, holding back the Missouri's water to the same height. If, while the Mississippi was at this stage, the great annual freshet calculated by Wright had come down the Missouri it would have piled up on this back water in the same manner as on a sand bar or other solid obstacle. Thus, for a time, the water of each stream would rise to a higher level than could be possible to either if its own flood water were the only factor. When all these waters united in a channel not much wider in places than one of the contributing streams, it follows either that the current must be greatly accelerated or that the water must rise at their junction to a level greater than that which would be normal. Leverett records (page 71) that "between St. Louis and Cairo only sand and silt are found along the valley, a feature that apparently indicates

a drainage no more vigorous than at the present day. Yet it seems probable that at times the volume of water greatly exceeded that now discharged through the valley." We have presented a reason for the latter condition; but not, as yet, for the first.

With the increased volume of water, loess would accumulate on hills much above the ordinary flood line, though not to any such height as 350 feet above present water level. It must not be forgotten in considering this point that the land was lower than now, and also that water must have attained to practically the same level south of the divide between the Missouri and the Meramec as north of it; otherwise the current in this direction would have carried away not only most of the suspended silt but all superficial native earth as well; while, unless the gradient was small, all light material would have been swept far to the southward.

Phenomena Below St. Louis.

So it was necessary to look farther down the river in seeking the cause of the moderate flow thus made manifest. References bearing upon the matter are scarce. Worthen says (Geological Survey of Illinois, vol. 3, pages 50, 75, and 76) that in Jackson county "The Loess * * occupies only a narrow belt on the top of the river bluffs from the west line of the county to the vicinity of the Pine hills near the south line." "On the east side of Fountain Bluff [Loess] extends down to the level of the river bottoms, and probably once filled the valley between this and the main chain of bluffs." In Union county, "The Loess formation was recognized at a single locality only, on the road from Jonesboro to Willard's landing, where the road intersects a ridge of this material on the eastern side of the Mississippi bottom, and the cut through it exposes 20 to 30 feet of [Loess]. And it is worthy of remark, that in this region no deposits of this kind cap the highest hills, as at more northern localities, but they occupy the valleys, showing that the hills in this part of the State were already elevated far above the water level at the time the Loess beds were deposited."

Shumard [Missouri Geological Survey Report; volume containing results of work from 1855 to 1871] says in his report upon Perry county:—"It is also highly probable that the eruptive rocks exist at or near the surface, since we have found, a short distance from Wittenberg, a loose mass of granite that would weigh several tons, while the paleozoic rocks in this vicinity present evidences of very considerable disturbances."

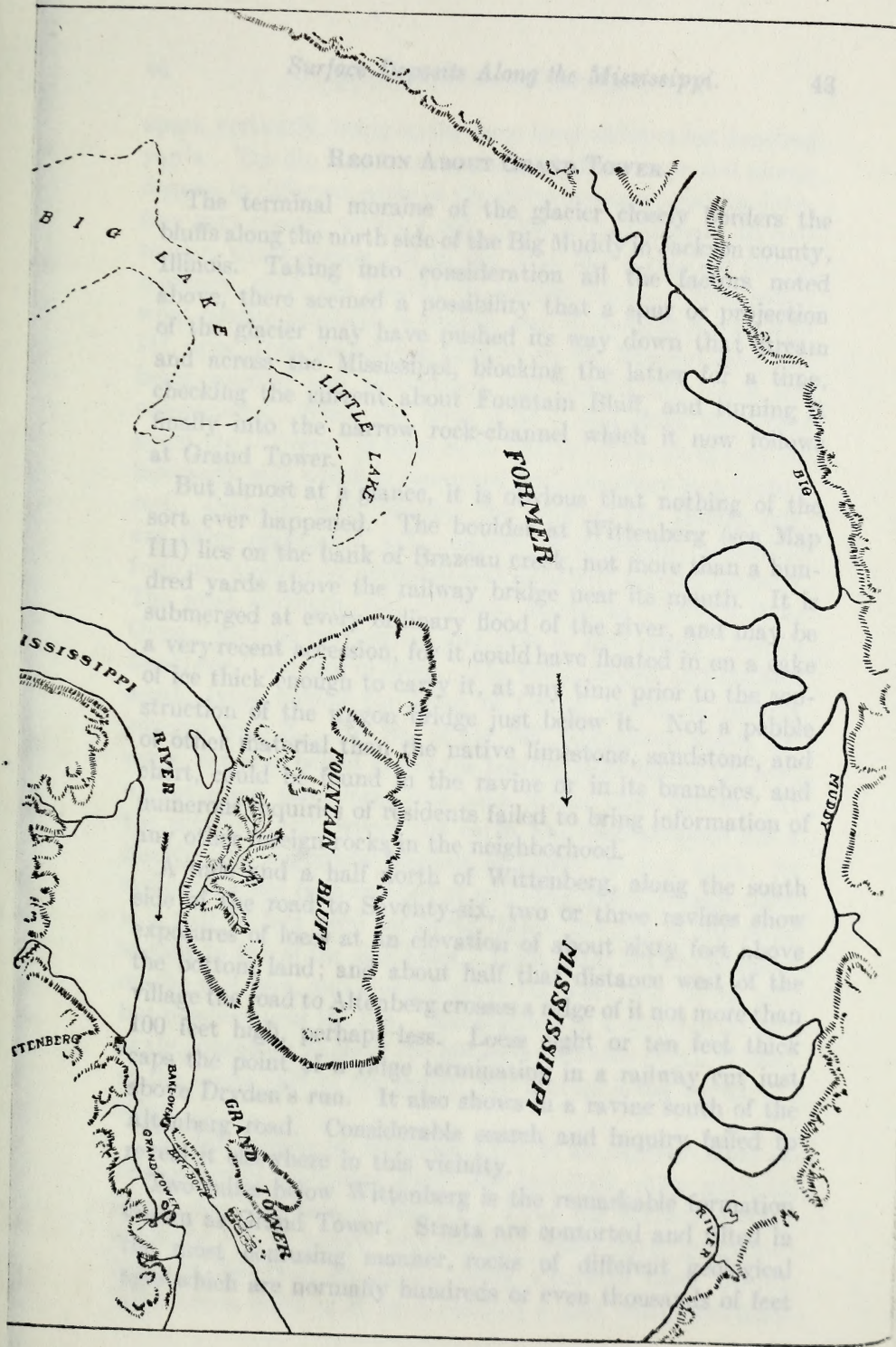
Before examining the last mentioned localities, two other points were visited.

Rock Creek.

The valley of Rock creek, at Kimmswick, three miles below the mouth of the Meramec, is filled with water-borne material to a height of fully 100 feet above the present flood line. A mile from the mouth a granite boulder weighing about 400 pounds was immediately under the surface in a deposit of intrusive sand, gravel, and smaller boulders, the whole having been carried to their present place by an iceberg or floe which either stranded here or was so reduced in size by gradual melting as to be unable longer to sustain its burden. Other, smaller rocks of foreign derivation occur in this valley, but they are sparsely scattered in loess material which is more or less mixed with clays and sands of local origin.

Plattin Creek.

At Crystal City, fifteen miles below Kimmswick, loess does not appear on the hillsides south of Plattin creek; but knolls and terraces of 20 to 30 feet in height, in the valley, are remnants left by erosion of a former deposit whose height could not have been much greater. At Festus, a mile from Crystal City, there is an exposure of six to eight feet, on solid limestone, in the railway cut; while on the hill north of the station it extends to a height of about 80 feet, none showing at a higher level than the line separating the sandstone from the limestone which caps the hill.


NORTH.
BIG LAKE
LITTLE LAKE
FORMER
MISSISSIPPI
RIVER
FOUNTAIN BLUFF
GRAND TOWER
BIG MUDDY
MUDDY RIVER

Map III.

Region About Grand Tower.

The terminal moraine of the glacier closely borders the bluffs along the north side of the Big Muddy in Jackson county, Illinois. Taking into consideration all the factors noted above, there seemed a possibility that a spur or projection of the glacier may have pushed its way down that stream and across the Mississippi, blocking the latter for a time, checking the current about Fountain Bluff, and turning it finally into the narrow rock-channel which it now follows at Grand Tower.

But almost at a glance, it is obvious that nothing of the sort ever happened. The boulder at Wittenberg (see Map III) lies on the bank of Brazeau creek, not more than a hundred yards above the railway bridge near its mouth. It is submerged at every ordinary flood of the river, and may be a very recent accession, for it could have floated in on a cake of ice thick enough to carry it, at any time prior to the construction of the wagon bridge just below it. Not a pebble of other material than the native limestone, sandstone, and chert, could be found in the ravine or in its branches, and numerous inquiries of residents failed to bring information of any other foreign rocks in the neighborhood.

A mile and a half north of Wittenberg, along the south side of the road to Seventy-six, two or three ravines show exposures of loess at an elevation of about sixty feet above the bottom land; and about half that distance west of the village the road to Altenberg crosses a ridge of it not more than 100 feet high, perhaps less. Loess eight or ten feet thick caps the point of a ridge terminating in a railway cut just above Dryden's run. It also shows in a ravine south of the Altenberg road. Considerable search and inquiry failed to reveal it elsewhere in this vicinity.

Two miles below Wittenberg is the remarkable formation known as Grand Tower. Strata are contorted and tilted in the most confusing manner, rocks of different geological ages which are normally hundreds or even thousands of feet

apart, vertically, being on the same level within a few hundred yards. The dip may be at any angle between zero and ninety degrees in different parts of the disturbed area; and its direction may change within a rod. One columnar mass, in particular, which stands out in the river like a gigantic pile of masonry, gives the locality its specific name. Three somewhat similar products of erosion, two of them shown on Map III, arise from the alluvial bottom on the Missouri side; but being covered and surrounded with timber are much less conspicuous. When the river is at a low stage the water about the "Tower" is from 80 to 120 feet deep, except on the landward side which is connected with the shore by a narrow reef. Opposite here, fronting the river on the Illinois side, are three segregated hills, mainly of limestone, separated from one another by narrow spaces filled with alluvial deposits. The most northern, and smallest, known as "Devil's Bake Oven," and the one nearest and next in size, called "Devil's Backbone," are free of loess. The third, largest and farthest south, lying behind the town of Grand Tower, is entirely covered with it. The top of the hill, comprising about 100 acres, varies in height above the bottom from 100 to 125 feet, except where three large sink holes reduce these figures. At the northern end, where the earth has been stripped for a quarry, the superficial deposit is about 20 feet thick; its bottom has not been reached at any other point, though there is a well 14 feet deep somewhat below the top of the slope leading to one of the sink holes. Rock crops out at one place on the east face, and along most of the west face, of the hill, but nowhere near the top. Excavations to a depth of 30 feet at the southwest angle of the hill show half that depth of loess at the upper part of the trench, the bottom being hidden by talus.

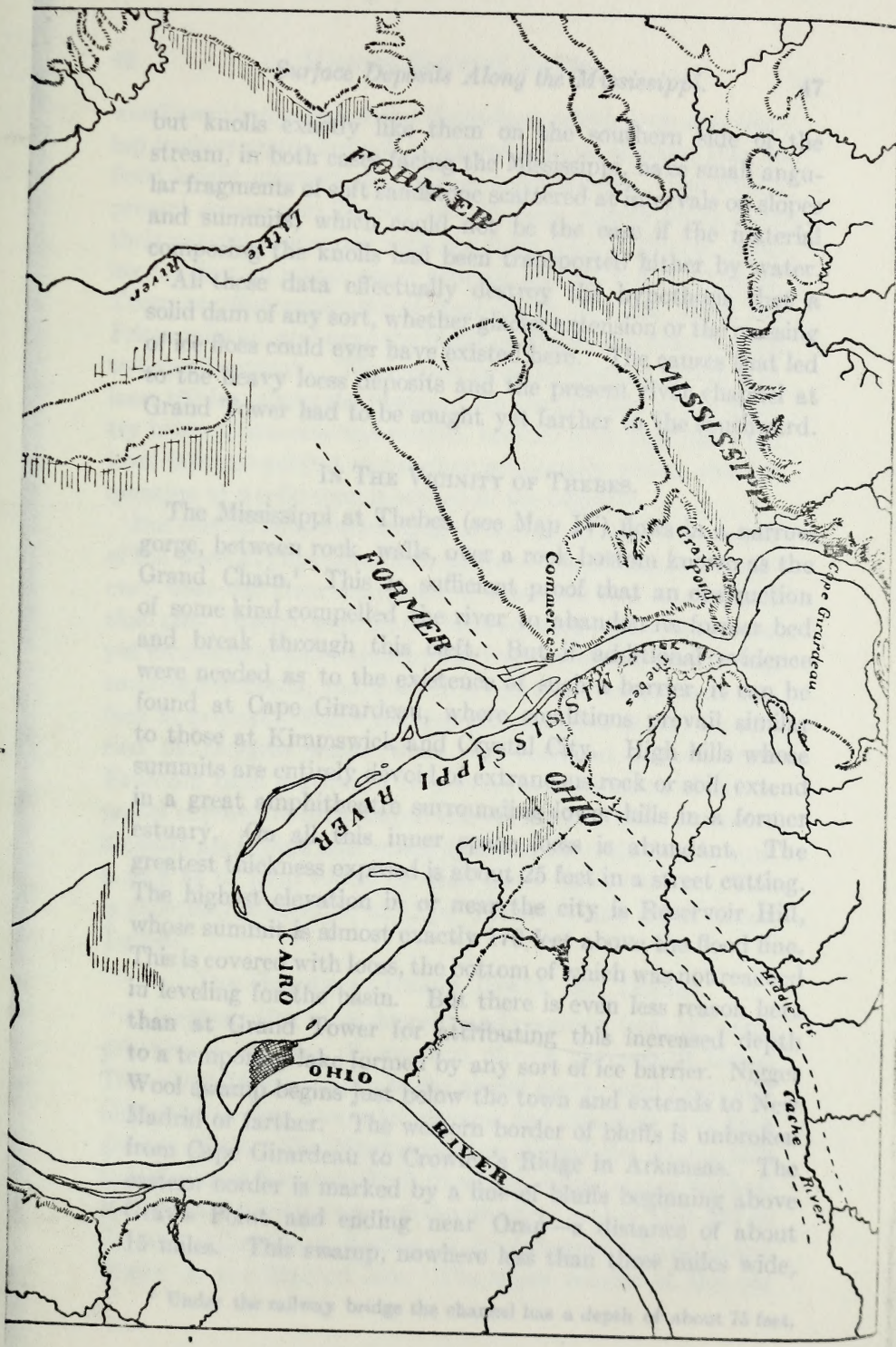
The hill known as Fountain Bluff is an isolated mass of Carboniferous sandstone about 300 feet high, three miles in length and half that in breadth. From the north and west sides the top is mostly inaccessible. Since early geological times it has been an island, being separated from Devil's Bake Oven south of it by a channel a mile wide, and from

the main bluffs to the eastward by a space fully 2½ miles wide at the narrowest part. Worthen gives the latter measurement as five miles; but calculating by a right angle to the trend of the cliffs at the upper end, he took a diagonal instead of a direct line. Until a period geologically recent, both these channels were occupied by the Mississippi and are similar in all respects to other alluvial bottom lands along the river.

The natural inference from Worthen's report, above quoted, would be that loess extends along the entire eastern slope of Fountain Bluff. There is none on the south, west, or north sides, nor on the northern part of the east side; it begins to show about midway on the last side, in a narrow strip not over ten or twelve feet high along the foot of the hill, until at a ravine which combines several branches. Along these there is loess, some of it in level terraces, to a height of thirty feet. At the southeast part of the hill, several fields, perhaps 100 acres in extent, are covered with it to an elevation of about sixty feet. There may have been more along the east side at one time; the fields near the foot of the slope are more fertile than those more remote, possibly on account of wash from the hillsides, which are very steep and show ledges of sandstone to the top.

No glacial debris, unless a stray floater here and there, is to be found on any of these elevations.

Where Big Muddy emerges from the hills into the lowlands bordering their base, its valley does not measure more than a mile in width between the tops of its slopes, nor more than a fourth of that distance between bedrock at the level of the stream. If any foreign rock or soil was ever carried out by ice, it is now entirely covered; for there is no drift in ravines or on slopes, while native rock in place or detached shows abundantly. There is a loess deposit 12 to 15 feet thick at the railway cut east of Kinkaid creek. On the northern side of Big Muddy the surface in some places looks like loess, in other places like native soil; but on the higher land, back from the bluffs, the superficial deposits are plainly of local origin. The lower knobs are smoothed and rounded, and have the appearance of eroded glacial or loess material;


FORMER
Little
River
MISSISSIPPI
FORMER
Commerce
Grand Tower
Cape Girardeau
Thebes
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
OHIO
CAIRO
OHIO
RIVER
Cache River

Map IV.

OHIO

but knolls exactly like them on the southern side of the stream, in both cases facing the Mississippi, have small angular fragments of soft sandstone scattered at intervals on slopes and summits, which could not be the case if the material composing the knolls had been transported hither by water.

All these data effectually destroy the hypothesis that a solid dam of any sort, whether glacier extension or the massing of ice floes could ever have existed here. The causes that led to the heavy loess deposits and the present river channel at Grand Tower had to be sought yet farther to the southward.

In The Vicinity of Thebes.

The Mississippi at Thebes (see Map IV) flows in a narrow gorge, between rock walls, over a rock bottom known as the Grand Chain.[1] This is sufficient proof that an obstruction of some kind compelled the river to abandon its former bed and break through this cleft. But if additional evidence were needed as to the existence of such a barrier, it can be found at Cape Girardeau, where conditions prevail similar to those at Kimmswick and Crystal City. High hills whose summits are entirely devoid of extraneous rock or soil, extend in a great amphitheatre surrounding lower hills in a former estuary. On all this inner space loess is abundant. The greatest thickness exposed is about 25 feet in a street cutting. The highest elevation in or near the city is Reservoir Hill, whose summit is almost exactly 170 feet above the flood line. This is covered with loess, the bottom of which was not reached in leveling for the basin. But there is even less reason here than at Grand Tower for attributing this increased depth to a temporary lake formed by any sort of ice barrier. Nigger Wool swamp begins just below the town and extends to New Madrid or farther. The western border of bluffs is unbroken from Cape Girardeau to Crowley's Ridge in Arkansas. The eastern border is marked by a line of bluffs beginning above Gray's Point and ending near Oran—a distance of about 15 miles. This swamp, nowhere less than three miles wide,

[1] Under the railway bridge the channel has a depth of about 75 feet.

was formerly the bed of the Mississippi, which even now during freshets pours through it a great volume of water that at flood height overtops the railway embankment. The river's present course past Thebes cuts off these eastern bluffs from their natural connection with the table land of Illinois, making in effect an island whose greatest breadth is 8 or 10 miles. There are fine exposures of loess north of Elmo along the Frisco railway, and near the bluffs on the wagon road leading to Cape Girardeau. The highest point at which it occurs is at least 100 feet above the swamp. No examination of the country below Commerce was needed, because from that place the level bottoms subject to overflow continually widen, and the question of a solid dam is settled in the negative.

But certain facts remained to be accounted for. The height of the loess at Cape Girardeau means, when erosion is considered, that the river contained at least 200 feet more water than now; though, as in all the loess covered region, there is as yet no means of determining what fraction of this may be due to excessive floods, and what to a subsidence of the land surface in general. While the deposits are such as can be carried by sluggish water, there was sufficient current from Fountain Bluff southward to prevent accumulation of silt on points exposed to its force; all the thicker and more extensive deposits are behind hills which deflected the main flow in such a way as to form eddies or dead water behind them. This is especially noticeable at Cape Girardeau and about Grand Tower.

The Gorges at Grand Tower and Thebes.

Coincident with these deposits and resulting from the same primary causes, was the creation of new channels at Grand Tower and Thebes. Prior to the glacial epoch, land stood at a higher level than now, and streams had cut their way to a greater depth. The Mississippi then skirted the Illinois hills to the east of Fountain Bluff (Map III) with a minor channel on the west circling around the southern end of that hill to join the main stream, leaving all the limestone hills at Grand Tower on the Missouri side. The upper portion of this old

channel is now occupied, in part, by two lakes or sloughs; the lower portion is drained by the last few miles of Big Muddy. Similarly, above Thebes (Map IV) the river flowed southwestward through Nigger Wool swamp. At each place small ravines due to aerial erosion had worn toward one another until the ridges separating them were lower than the general level in the direction of the river; perhaps down nearly to their present relative grade. Then came the land subsidence, and with it floods from melting glaciers, bringing immense quantities of detritus and sedimentary matter which settled wherever the velocity of the current was diminished. Thus the old valleys were partially filled; and the rivers are now flowing high above their former levels in troughs on top of these old deposits which are for the most part concealed by sand and mud piled on them by modern freshets. But it so happened that the ravines at Grand Tower and Thebes had cut their floors to a lower stage than that attained by sediments in the main channel; so much lower that when normal conditions were restored and the Mississippi began to flow once more "unvexed to the sea," it was diverted into these side passages and has ever since remained there.

Changes near Cairo.

But the original channel could not have filled to this extent unless the velocity of the stream was decidedly checked. To produce such result a barrier was necessary. It is plain that no solid dam, of either land or ice existed. As at St. Louis, the case is reduced to the hypothesis of a water dam. An arm from the Gulf of Mexico once projected far up the valley, probably to Cairo or above; but there is no evidence whatever that sea water could have risen high enough to bring the river on top of Reservoir Hill at Cape Girardeau. Consequently, the Ohio river must meet the requirements. Leverett has discovered (page 528) that "The Ohio at one time discharged either wholly or in part through the 'Cache Valley,' which crosses southern Illinois a few miles north of the present course of the Ohio." The "clay deposit stands only about

75 feet above the present stream. [It] has sufficient depth to extend to river level, and it may extend much lower." Worthen (Vol. I, 1866, page 7) says the axis of the uplift forming the Grand Chain near Thebes "probably crosses the Ohio a few miles above Caledonia in Pulaski county, where the St. Louis limestone forms a reef of rock known as the 'Grand Chain' (of the Ohio) entirely across that stream." The "Little Chain" in the Ohio, he adds, is in a different formation.

Evidently we have here a situation similar to that at Thebes. The old course of the Ohio through "Cache Valley," indicated approximately by the dotted lines, being choked up, it broke over the "Grand Chain of the Ohio" presumably into the lower part of the Tennessee which probably discharged directly into the Mississippi, though it is not positively known as yet just where the various preglacial channels of the three rivers were; whether they united before reaching the northward extension of the Gulf, or whether they flowed into it separately at this time.

The Ohio is subject to great fluctuations even now; and at the time under consideration, when it received all the glacial discharge between the Alleghany mountains and the Wabash, in addition to floods from its southern tributaries swollen by rainfall greater than any we know of now, its volume was augmented far beyond modern record. When such torrents flowed over a bottom 75 feet above the river's present level, they would hold back the Mississippi for many miles; and a flood coming down the latter stream would rise far higher than if there were a free outlet below. Conversely, the Mississippi would retard the Ohio, causing the latter to fill up its "Cache Valley" channel and break over the Grand Chain of the Ohio.

Conclusions.

To sum up:—The concurrence of a subsidence of the land, as agreed to by all geologists; the existence at the north of a vast glacial field rapidly melting; torrential, tropical rains farther south due to the intermingling of warm air from the Gulf with cold air from the ice sheet; the synchronous discharge

of tremendous floods into a limited area, by many great rivers; —this combination will sufficiently explain all the phenomena of deposition and erosion between the mouth of the Illinois and the mouth of the Ohio. Theories or hypotheses that seek other causes as chief can have, at best, but a slender foundation.

The relation, or correlation, of the upper Missouri bluffs, the extensive bottom lands of the lower Ohio and Wabash, the rock bluffs of the Mississippi and the Illinois, and the overflow lands from Cairo to the Gulf, awaits a satisfactory explanation.

Years ago, Professor W. G. Tight, now President of the University of New Mexico, expressed the belief that in a former geological period the drainage of the Mississippi basin was mostly toward Hudson Bay. No other hypothesis yet advanced offers as satisfactory an explanation of various peculiarities in our central river systems.

Addendum.

It was not until the above paper was in print that I discovered the following article, written by H. A. Wheeler, E.M., and published in the Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis, February 21st, 1895. A few sentences of Mr. Wheeler's article are omitted, but nothing that has a direct bearing on the subject.

"In driving a tunnel under West Pine street, in the western-central part of St. Louis, for a sewer, the blue glacial clay or 'till' was found for a distance of about 2,000 feet. A shaft at the junction of Taylor avenue and Pine street, which was about the middle of the till formation, disclosed a thickness of about 12 feet. The blue-clay carried gravel and boulders as usual, and though none of the latter exceeded a foot in diameter, they were largely made up of distant-carried material, or crystaline rocks from the North like granite, mica-shist, white-quartzite, besides white saccharoidal sandstone, chert and limestone. It rested on the St. Louis Limestone (sub-carboniferous), and was overlaid by 10 to 15 feet of the non-pebble bearing loess, or the unstratified, columnar jointed

brown, homogeneous sandy-clay formation (the 'brickclay'). The till feathered out on the west side of Euclid avenue, and was not again encountered in the westerly extension of the sewer.

"From the limited width of the till, as the sewer-section was on about an east and west line, and the comparative thinness, not exceeding 12 feet, it seems to be a local tongue or extension of an ice-stream beyond the main body of the southern limit of the great ice-sheet. The nearest recognized development of the till is at the Chain of Rocks region, or ten to fifteen miles north, where heavy sheets of mixed gray and brown clays and sands, carrying pebbles and boulders of foreign rocks, occur in the tongue of land between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. In this region the till attains a thickness of over thirty feet, and contains, as erratics, red pegmatite, granitite, red and gray granite, diorite, dolorite, quartz porphyry (like the Keweenaw Point series), porphyrite, red quartzite, quartz geodes (Keokuk), white 'sugary' sandstone (Saccharoidal), besides abundant cherts from the immediate neighborhood. But no blue-clay has been observed there, and the Pine street sheet is the only occurrence of blue till known to the writer in Missouri that is south of the Missouri river, which lies 12 miles north.

"A thin layer of gravel bearing loess (?) is usually found at the base of the true loess throughout St. Louis county, as far as ten to fifteen miles south of Pine street, and while most of the pebbles are local cherts, they occasionally include distant material like granites, etc. This gravel-bearing bed is always thin, ranging from ½ to 2 feet in thickness and is similar in character to the transition bed that is found about the Chain of Rocks region between the typical loess and the typical drift, or has the general character of the loess plus more or less gravel, though usually only a little gravel is present. It totally lacks the character of the true till, and cannot be regarded as an ice-sheet deposit. This Pine street occurrence of till is therefore the most southern known extension of the ice-sheet in St. Louis county."

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR.

By Charles A. Krone

(Read at a Meeting of the Society, 20 October, 1905.)

Continued from Vol. 2. No. 7.

Act One. Scene Two.

Jas. Anderson's engagement at the St. Louis Theatre shared the same fate as that of Brooke's, whereupon he likewise shifted his scene of action to the People's, where for some five or six weeks he played the English classics and the high grade of the standard dramas, and Schiller's "Robbers," to filled houses. He was an actor of great merit in heroic parts, and his "Coriolanus" was a masterpiece, to the success of which his tall and commanding stature, aristocratic features and musical voice contributed to a large extent. His wife, Miss Elseworthy, slightly smaller, of perfect figure, large, dark and penetrating eyes, expressive and dignified features, and a gait that revealed stateliness and grace at every step, was a fitting partner to constitute this noble and heroic pair. A comical incident occurred to this pair on their arrival at the Planters' House, where they registered for the same apartments as James Anderson and Miss Elseworthy. The clerk stoutly objected to their rooming together until Anderson had given sufficient proof that he was the husband of the lady. The custom of married actresses retaining their maiden names does not appear to have been quite as prevalent then as now.

The warm summer of the year 1856 having set in, and all the theatres closed for the vacation, some of the actors of the People's Theatre formed a male company to play at the old Museum above the Market House, which had been closed since its occupation by our amateur society. Most of the actors having left town, there was a lack of talent, which was

supplied by the amateurs, and from among them I was engaged as "Juvenile Man." To give dignity to my new position among these professionals, my name was changed to Fairfield. While we were rehearsing the stage and the auditorium were undergoing radical changes in regard to scenery and dressing apartments. A new drop curtain representing the London Bridge was being painted by John Hillicker, who had just arrived from England, and the dilapidated scenery and decorations put in such order as to result in quite a nice little theatre. The establishment was opened under the title of "The Bowery Theatre," with "Othello." Among the company were Tom Lyne, Wolffe, Reed and others, and these actors, being ambitious to play good parts, nothing but the heaviest plays of Shakespeare and Knowles were produced. Night and day I was employed in study, having two parts in this performance, a farce being added to the tragedy every night. On the first night, as *Cassio* in "Othello," I made the audience roar with laughter by over-acting the drunken scene; I was equally successful the next night as *Alonso* in the "Death of Rolla," in producing hilarity in the parting scene before the battle, when, with broken and tearful accents, I emplored the Peruvian warrior that if I fell in battle to be the wife of *Cora* and the father of my children. I soon discovered that playing new parts every night was too much for my young experience, but finding myself improved at every repetition, I determined to hold on. However, business after two weeks began to fail, and a few weeks more sufficed to close the establishment. Stage Manager Wolffe, who was a fair actor and a first-class diamond setter, went south to work at his trade. Lyne, the leading man, turned preacher, which evidently was the profession for which nature intended him.

No sooner had the doors closed upon this venture than another lessee presented himself in the person of a printer and publisher of a Mormon paper, with a Mr. Dickman for his business manager. An actor family by the name of Caldwell, consisting of the father, who played old men, the mother, who figured as the old woman, the son as the walking

gent, the daughter as the soubrette and leading lady, Dave Morris as a German dialect comedian, myself as juvenile, and a few ladies for general utility, formed quite a respectable company, for the Caldwells were good actors. The chief attraction was Miss Caldwell, who, besides being a fair actress, possessed an excellent voice for singing work, and moreover was what might be termed a fair type of Creole beauty, who, with her dark, large eyes and raven black ringlets reaching almost down to her waist, made a most interesting stage appearance. The plays produced consisted of the lighter English singing pieces, farces and one-act comediettas. The interludes between the pieces were supplied by D. Morris, with German songs and speeches on the topics of the day, which never failed to elicit roars of laughter. The business was paying, salaries regularly forthcoming, and everybody satisfied. This lasted three weeks, when the Caldwell family, having procured engagements, left for the South. This broke up the company, which I regretted very much, as it had been the most agreeable affair I had been connected with.

Upon the wreck of this venture another was immediately organized. The broken ranks were filled up with amateurs from the different associations, and an opening advertised for the following week. In spite of the liberal terms on which we had obtained the hall, printing, etc., after three weeks' struggle this speculation also failed. Our manager, a foppish young fellow with considerable money, paid the salaries, and when he settled for the rent with the manager of the house, a gruff old Irishman, some dispute arising between them, and the young manager, thinking himself insulted by some of the old man's remarks, shouted: "It seems you take us for hod-carriers." The old man answered: "No, I don't, but that's what you ought to be, or butchers, for people do be telling me that to the mate shop below I joined a slaughter house above."

My next venture was with the "Hauser Family," a quartette of Tyrolean singers, who, after having performed all over the world, had made St. Louis their home. These had built a very neat stage with efficient and well-painted scenery,

in a large hall at the corner of Third and Convent streets. Two performances a week were to be given in German. This company consisted of the family, numbering two men, two women and myself as salaried members, and a few amateurs who worked gratis. The Tyrolese were excellent singers, and as all the plays were of Tyrolean characters, they were no less good actors, and the affair became popular and paid well. However, I longed to be connected with the regular theatre, and before long, through the recommendation of Mark Smith and other actors, I received a note from James McVicker, manager of Wood's Theatre, formerly the People's, to come and see him in regard to an engagement, whereupon at once I bade farewell to the Tyrolese and to my amateur career forever.

On the 24th of December, 1856, I made my first appearance as a professional actor at Wood's Theatre, in the part of *Morluc* in "Love's Sacrifice," and that in one of the best companies of the time, numbering in its ranks such names as Lawrence Barrett, who was then doing the young men, Chas. Barry, J. L. Griffith, J. Collier, Uhl, Grover, Blake and McVicker. The height of my ambition up to that point had been reached—I belonged to the craft.

Manager McVicker, who, like myself, had been a printer, showed his predilection for his former trade, to which he seemed to attribute a somewhat higher standard of intelligence than to others, on my applying for an engagement, said: "Well, as you are a printer, I think you may do, and as you are recommended by actors who have seen you perform, I'll make a trial of you." He gave me my part, told me how to dress, dismissed me, and I went on my way rejoicing, the happiest fellow in town on that day.

My part, though small, was difficult, but I got through it without hitch or break. After the play I was summoned to the manager's dressing room. He expressed his satisfaction and said that he could not see what would prevent my becoming a good actor, provided I did not fail to exercise attention and diligence, and here he held up his finger and, giving me a serious look, he continued: "Provided you resist the tempta-

tion of drink and gambling, which are playing such sad havoc with many of our good actors." Also, he added: "Be careful in choosing your companions. There are always in the theatre, as elsewhere in the world, men who are not fit companions for a young man; therefore, choose with care and discretion." During our conversation several of the minor actors passed the open door and gave a hasty look within. "Now," said he, "there goes a pair that have been in the business some years. They are efficient in their place, but, if they should grow as old as badgers, they'll never be more than what they are now, utility men." After giving me several other admonitions, he concluded by saying: "You are as useful to me as any man I have in your position, and I will give you the same salary as the rest, eight dollars per week." When I left the room, the two gents who had peeped through the door were waiting for me, and immediately demanded what McVicker had said to me, the amount of my salary, etc. I referred them to Mr. McVicker himself, who, undoubtedly, could give them the best information. James McVicker was a citizen of St. Louis, a character actor and comedian of a high order, an intellectual stage director, and one of the best theatrical business managers this country has seen, as has been fully proved by his lifelong and honorable career in Chicago. He had risen from the ranks, and step by step had gone through all the gradations of the theatrical profession, from the lowest round to the position he occupied at his death. At the time I became acquainted with him he was chiefly known as a Yankee comedian, but he soon became reputed to be a first-class interpreter of Shakespearian comic characters, and his *Touchstone*, *Dogberry*, *Launcelot* and the finer order of character parts, as the "lawyer" in "The Man of the World," and others of that type, placed him in the rank of sterling actors of the English drama. In manner and character plain and unobtrusive, he was at the same time strict and kind in business, and you could depend on his word. It was most fortunate for me at that time to begin my vocation under such an accomplished tutor, and also that I commenced my career at a time when that which is known

as "the old palmy days," the period up to which the English classic drama had been fostered and developed since Shakespeare's time, had possessed the greatest exponents of its beauties and handed down from generation to generation, during four hundred years, the traditions, improvements and triumphs of genius—that this period had reached its culmination, its highest flight. The flower was still in full bloom, but signs of decadence were visible, and proclaimed that in a short time, slowly though surely, it would wither. Junius Brutus Booth had passed away; Wm. Macready, though still living, had bidden farewell to his glorious sphere of action; but there yet remained a host which still represented every phase of the spirit of that epoch. Still we had Forrest, Murdoch, Anderson, the elder and the younger Wallack, Scott, Chas. Kean, Ed. Davenport, Jamison, Dillon, Eddy, not to speak of those who were in England and never visited this country. Besides, there were in this country numbers of those who were preparing their wings to join the aforesaid Olympians in their last flight, viz.: Ed. Adams, John McCullough, Lawrence Barrett, John Wilkes Booth and his brother Edwin, destined to be the last of the Romans. Among the comedians, we still retained Burton, Blake, Chas. Mathews, Clark, Warren, John Owens, Ben DeBar, Geo. Holland, McVicker, etc. The actresses formed an equal galaxy of glory, and we dwell with pleasure on the names of Charlotte Cushman, Elisa Logan, Mary Farren, Jane Davenport, Mrs. Bowers, Julia Dean, Matilda Heron, Jane Coomb, Julia Bennett, Laura Keene, Charlotte Crampton, with many others who had begun to give proof of excellence.

With these superior models, the stock companies stood in close relation and favorable comparison, since from them the great ones had issued by gradual and steady promotion to the limit of their capacities, and it was in these companies that the neophyte found models for the various characters he was called upon to represent, added to which the daily change of programme afforded a field of practice which the system of to-day does not offer. Every day during the first weeks of my engagement I was called to the theatre an hour

before the regular rehearsal, to be instructed by James Thorpe, the prompter, in broadsword exercise, to dance or to sing the music incidental to the English melodramas that were then in vogue. Benjamin Vogel, who later became the well-known and efficient leader of the Olympic Theatre orchestra and director of our park concerts, had come in 1856 from Pittsburgh to join the orchestra at Wood's Theatre as second violinist. It was under his excellent tuition that the music of "Meg Merriles," "Rob Roy," "Bohemian Girl" and the most difficult music of "Macbeth" was vamped into a score of youngsters of both sexes, not one of whom, I think, knew a note of music. Besides these exercises, and playing two or three small parts every evening and the daily long rehearsals, I took lessons in Hardee's tactics, so as to be able to handle a gun gracefully. And when at home, walked with a sword girt to my side. Added to these physical exercises, I also read up much English history and historical novels to make up for my too-early interrupted education, and, in short, strove to make all this bear upon my profession. My manager's warning against the abuse of drink I fully appreciated, having seen too many examples of its ruinous effect while in my former trade, nor was there a lack of these in my present vocation, in which it seemed that to the average actor drink was as free to him that craved it as the air. I had seen a popular comedian who, intoxicated, had fallen asleep in a wheelbarrow, drawn to the theatre in that vehicle, the leading man shoving it and four more drunken actors drawing the same by a long rope, followed by a shouting mob of boys, and that while a pelting hailstorm beat down on this staggering cavalcade. In gambling there was no danger for me, as I never had a taste save for outdoor sports.

To me the most notable man in our company was Lawrence Barrett, who played the juvenile roles, and who for his excellent acting, as well as for his staid, sober and dignified character, commanded the respect if not the affections and popularity of his colleagues. He was thought to be proud, for though polite and friendly to all, he seemed to shun any intimate contact with the others. He appeared to be con-

tinually on the defense against what he considered, and justly, too, the abuses and vices which beset an actor's life, and no doubt this continual apprehension and guard against dangers, in his later life, developed that cold, repellant and exacting harshness of temper which never left him. He was wont to come to rehearsal alone, walking to the stage with the step of a drill-sergeant, a large book, no doubt procured from the library, under his arm, for he was a great reader, and bowing to the right and left to those present, went on with his work, and at the conclusion strode home in the same manner; but with all this, his reputation was that of a just and intellectual gentleman, and to those who strove earnestly and manfully in their vocation, I have always found him kind and obliging. He was always himself, and his strong individuality asserted itself in his parts as well, which, though of the highest finish, were always a transfiguration of his own personality, and of the highest flights of rhetoric. Truly he was one of those who, for his noble and elevated striving, his clear and straight life, deserves a remembrance in the heart of all those who look upon the dramatic art as something nobler than mere amusement or a pander to the sensualities of the ignorant.

This season was noteworthy for the engagement of several great and celebrated actors, viz.: Wm. Burton, the elder Wallack, Edwin Booth's first star engagement, Jas. Anderson, the Keller troupe, and the production of a drama entitled "The Pirates of the Mississippi," written by a gentleman of this city, in which my career came nigh being cut short. It was in this production that I for the first time acted a decided villain's part. In a scene while standing on the cabin roof of a pirate barge, commanding a fight between the crew and the shoremen, I was shot in the neck by a drunken actor, who had fired at me within a distance of only some ten feet, the hard, wet paper bullet striking my neck immediately next to the jugular vein. I fell, and as I felt the warm blood flowing down my breast, I was strangely reminded of the only Latin I ever knew: "*Sic transit gloria.*" I bled considerably, but Dr. Collins, the manager, came immediately,

stopped the bleeding and plastered the wound, saying: "Young fellow, if that had struck you a little bit further to the front, you would never have played another pirate."

Wm. Burton played a repertoire of his best comedies, among which was that of "Toodles," a part in which he was reputed to be without equal. This was also one of DeBar's favorite roles, and a rather bitter rivalry was raised between the two comedians. DeBar played the part nightly for a week previous to Burton's arrival, so as to give everybody a chance for comparison by the time the pretended superior should appear. Burton came, and with the disadvantage of playing it before an audience which had seen DeBar in it so frequently that many of them knew the play by heart, of course it fell flat with the New Yorker. No doubt, DeBar's was the best, for, even when this comedian failed to realize an author's idea, he always had one of his own, and it never failed to be funny, and that, too, without any effort. Burton's *Captain Cuttle*, in "Dombey & Son," however, was a masterpiece, and I doubt if his rival on Pine Street could have reached him in that. The elder Wallack, an actor of great excellence in tragedy and higher comedy, did a fair business playing "Hamlet" in fine style, "Richard III," the old English comedy of "The Wonder," and other classic productions. His deportment and manner of directing was quiet, courteous and kind—a scholar and a gentleman.

The engagement of Jas. Anderson, during which was presented "Civilization" and "Clouds and Sunshine," proved as great a financial success as that of the previous season.

The most noteworthy occurrence of this season, however, was the first appearance in this city of young Edwin Booth, who, after having played a few seasons in the California theatres with considerable success, had now entered on his first starring tour. It was with some surprise when, at the first rehearsal, we beheld a slender, melancholy-visaged lad advancing to the prompt table, where, after shaking hands with Manager McVicker, he was introduced to the company as Mr. Edwin Booth. His sad, though friendly, smile, low, musical voice and dignified manner won upon everybody

while at the same time his appearance, which rather denoted weakness than strength, inspired but little hope in his success as a tragedian, and if anyone then had prognosticated his great and glorious career of the future, he certainly would have been laughed at. His opening role, I think, was that of *Brutus* in John Howard Payne's tragedy of that name, a most difficult character in which the tragic emotional is carried to a depth which is rarely found in other plays. The attendance was good, no doubt owing in part to the curiosity of seeing the son of the celebrated Junius Brutus Booth, who had died recently. The public was not disappointed, for although the son lacked the intense vigor of the father, he so well husbanded the powers he possessed in melody of speech, graceful repose, and the judicious rendering of the more violent and explosive phases of the role by quiet emotional struggles, that revealed themselves in lightning flashes on a countenance possessed of rare powers of tragic expression. This was most vividly exemplified in the scene where he condemns his son to death for treason. The very qualities that were considered his weaknesses were to serve him in the future for success, and make of him the originator of that more quiet and reposeful manner which has pervaded the American stage since his advent, in contradistinction to the robust methods which the numerous imitators of Forrest had inaugurated and, in many instances, degraded into mere rant. Therefore, his performances at first were not what is termed popular, for to the unenlightened he lacked force, and force with such is masculinity. During this engagement "Richard III," "Hamlet" and "The Marble Heart" were produced, and his *Raphael*, in the last-mentioned play, was one of the most beautiful performances I have ever witnessed. After a two weeks' engagement he left for the East, not to return to this city for some eight or nine years.

Another incident of note was the arrival of the Keller troupe, world renowned for their representation in living pictures of the legends of Greek mythology and scenes from the Old Testament. Louis Keller, a German sculptor, and his wife and her two sisters were the leading features of

this company, and it would be difficult to conceive four more beautiful models for the characters they represented. Two other women and two men, Spaniards, also possessed of rare physical beauty, figured as the immediate support of the former, with five more to fill the subordinate roles, and an English stage manager to direct the plays. Added to these, quite a number of children and youths of the city were engaged to pose as angels, nymphs, satyrs, etc., and who were rehearsed in their work a week before the arrival of the company. A carload of classic costumes, statues and six huge wooden horses to draw Apollo's sun chariot, figures of lions, tigers and dragons, the snake crowns of the furies, masks of gorgons and satyrs, large serpents and other mythological pharaphernalia filled the stage on their arrival. A large circular revolving platform was constructed in the center of the stage on which the pictures were to be represented. The first night the house was filled from pit to dome, and the exhibition proved a decided success. The living pictures that were fitly introduced as visions, dreams and allegories in the dramas of "The Famine in Egypt," "The Prodigal Son" and "Joseph in Egypt" were the most instructive and brilliant that had been seen until then, or since. The house was sold out every day, and the professors and students, as well as the general public from the surrounding country, came to see this novel and educational exhibition. Whoever has seen Mrs. Keller, with her tall, Junonian figure, standing between her two beautiful sisters, slightly smaller than herself, posing as the three Graces, will never forget that sight nor fail to feel the truth of those lines of the German poet when he sang:

"The body of woman a poem is, which the Lord our God has written."

Louis Keller, when seen in the street with his long hair and beard, stooped shoulders, and clad in a gaberdine-like fur-trimmed paletot, might have been taken for the boss of a junk shop and not for the artist which he certainly was. However, that carelessness of appearance and absence of parade outside of the theatre seems to have been a general characteristic of the men of note of that period. But when Louis

Keller appeared as Apollo upon Parnassus, in his sun-chariot drawn by his white steeds and accompanied by the hours that were hovering in the air around him, you felt at once that there was an artist before your gaze, and the correctness and beauty of the representation made you think for a moment that Olympus had descended unto the earth once more. The troupe remained with us three weeks, perhaps longer, and every night proved a new banquet of beauty, for during that period the following most notable features in which Keller took part were "The Death of Socrates," "Battle of the Amazons," "Jeremiah's Lament," "Orestes Tormented by the Furies" and "Cain and Abel," in which, as far as I am aware, the first and only time in this city God was represented by an actor on the stage. Cain was Keller's masterpiece. After the murder of Abel, Adam Grover, who played old man, clad in white drapery, with flowing hair and beard, and surrounded by angels bearing lit tapers, would appear in the clouds and ask: "Cain, where is thy brother Abel?" Upon which Keller answered in pantomime. How much else of the scriptural text was spoken I cannot tell at this late day, but I do remember that Grover was subjected to many coarse jests for the extraordinary line of business he had taken upon himself. However, as far as I know, no objections were raised to this novel innovation, a fact that may be attributed to the earnest manner and absolute absence of anything trivial or tawdry in the action. The company had performed all these characters on the European Continent, and in the Latin countries had even produced the "Crucifixion" without any opposition. One night after his performance of Cain, Keller came to me, who had been attentively watching the same, and asked me how I liked it, and upon my reply that I thought it a great piece of acting, he smilingly said: "Ye-es, my Cain is all goot, but if you would see mine Christ, you would spit upon my Cain." These exhibitions of mythology have never been attempted again, and it would be in vain to describe them adequately, but if one imagines all these classic subjects, represented by beautiful living human beings attired in the most classic costumes and aided by fitting music and

the best constructed stage properties of masks, flowers, horses, swans, etc., some faint idea may be had of this most rare show. But a single ludicrous incident happened during this engagement, and that was on the first night's performance of the "Famine in Egypt." A lot of starving Hebrew men, women and children were strewn around on the floor of a dilapidated hut, upon whose rafters were hung a number of hams and pork ribs. The audience hailed the scene with loud laughter, and Keller, who was the first of the actors to observe it, cried out: "My Gott, look at dot; dose Jews are starving because dey won't eat pork." The following day the hams were painted over.

During this engagement, also, a serious accident occurred. As the dancer, Miss Milly, leaned out of her dressing-room window to view the performance, her extended dancing skirts caught fire from a gas jet at her back. With a loud shriek and enveloped in flames, the terrified girl ran downstairs and on to the stage, where the Kellers, with all the little children in their light costumes around them, were just arranging another tableau. The distracted girl ran toward the group, and but for the timely presence of mind of Dr. Collins, who immediately seized her, and quenching the flames by throwing his large coat around her and pacifying the shrieking children, there would have been a great calamity. Keller immediately stepped before the curtain and calmed the audience, none of whom, however, attempted a stampede, brought the weeping girl in her burnt costume before the audience and assured them that she was not dangerously hurt, after which the performance proceeded as usual. Fortunately the young woman's face had escaped the flames, though her body was burnt so badly as to confine her to her bed for six weeks. Previous to this, a French dancer of Fields Varieties, a Mlle. Baron, had lost her life from the footlights setting fire to her costume. She was buried from the Cathedral, with considerable honor, and, having been quite a favorite, she was followed to her last resting place by a large concourse of friends and sympathizers.

Louis Keller, although an artist, was a business man and a first-class promoter and advertiser. He made a great deal of money here and he was generous in spending it. For every trifling service rendered him by the habitues of the theatre he paid in princely style, and his manner, though rough, was manly and honest, and his departure was regretted by all who had worked with him.

During this period Julia Dean, Mrs. Farren and Neafie, Dion Boucicault and wife and John Owens appeared at DeBar's St. Louis Theatre, which was fast growing in public favor.

The Varieties Theatre, our present Opera House, was occupied by Henry Boernstein and his Philo-dramatic Society, which was composed chiefly of the best German amateur talent, Mrs. Boernstein, a very fine actress, and a few more professionals. This company was achieving results that rivaled the best in the city. Henry Boernstein at the same time was the editor of the oldest and most important German newspaper in the city, a dramatic author and a writer of novels, one of which, the "Mysteries of St. Louis," was translated into English. Added to this, he was accounted an excellent stage director and actor, and he subsequently served as colonel of a volunteer regiment at the commencement of the Civil War, and he is reckoned among those who were instrumental in keeping this State in the Union. He was a man who, for his talents as an editor and publisher of the best popular German literature and his direction of the German theatre, which he sought to elevate to an institution of culture, deserves a place in the history of this commonwealth, though it seems his compatriots (of the present generation) have either never heard of him or have forgotten him. And, finally, as the man who, in 1855, during the Know-Nothing riots, stood up boldly to assert the rights of his countrymen, he has never had his superior among the large mass of Germans who have lived and died here since the founding of the city. Instead of getting rich, he spent or lost all in his pet enterprises and died in Vienna, a correspondent for the "Westliche Post."

The season at Wood's was now drawing to a close, and I had been promoted to what is termed a "second heavy man," and all the small character parts and so-called villians that were too light for the leading heavy man fell to my lot. Manager McVicker had been engaged to take the management of a new theatre in Chicago, which to this day is known as McVicker's Theatre. This, of course, meant a great change in the management of Wood's Theatre, and as I was anxious to take a flight into the world at large, I did not apply for the next season. The season under McVicker for me had been bright, instructive and full of novel interest. The work, though hard, had been steady and orderly, and so I did not grumble, for I wanted to act. When on the 4th day of July a matinee was announced to play a patriotic drama entitled "The Days of Seventy-six" or "The Spy," and after being dressed for the performance, we were told to go home, as there wasn't a soul in the house but a cat, I was very much disappointed. Since then I have often been compelled to play fourteen performances a week, with an every-day, and sometimes two all-night rehearsals, and at present I entertain different sentiments upon the subject. In spite of the hard work, those days were also prolific in great fun. To perpetrate practical jokes on each other was one of the most common forms of amusement of the youths of that period, and among the actors especially, reminding one of the pranks that boys play at college. I will relate a few samples of this species of diversion, which will give you an idea of their general nature and of the disposition of the perpetrators. In front of the theatre there had been for some time a long and deep hole in the middle of the street. Teams were forced to drive around it to avoid accidents, and in rainy weather it overflowed with water and slush to the depth of something more than two feet. The street inspector had been advised of this repeatedly, and asked to fill it up, as it prevented people from crossing the street to German's saloon between the acts. But the street inspector paid no attention whatever to the demands, and the puddle remained as heretofore. One evening as I came to the theatre, a large crowd of shouting

men and boys crowded the streets, and as I drew near a very comical scene presented itself. The actors had constructed a dummy and buried it in the puddle. The face was made up to resemble the features of the inspector, and the head, with an old stove pipe hat on it, looked out of the mud at one end of the well-heaped and neatly made grave, and the feet, cased in a pair of old boots up to the knees, appeared at the other; a white stage tombstone, stuck over and around with burning tallow candles, bore the following inscription:

"Hic jacet in pace.
Sacred to the memory of the street inspector of this ward,
who was drowned here on the 20th inst., A.D. 1857.
Alas, poor Yorick, I knew him well."

After a great deal of noise and merriment, the mob was dispersed by the police and the hole was filled up next day.

On another occasion a party of our actors and musicians, waiting for a rehearsal which had been postponed from the usual hour of ten to that of twelve, were watching a wood-sawyer across the street, a quaint looking old man dressed in the costume peculiar to the mountain peasants of Bavaria, which consisted of a furred, turban-like cap, a frayed black velvet jacket adorned with huge white metal buttons, brown leather knee breeches and gaiters. All agreed that the old man would serve for a splendid model for this or that part, and finally the question of his age and the hard labor he was performing were argued. Upon which, John Bernard, the leader of the orchestra, maintained that it was no harder work to saw wood than to saw a fiddle three hours every night, and that he could saw that wood with the greatest ease. Whereupon our prompter, James Thorpe, bet him two dollars he could not saw the remaining pile, estimated at about a quarter of a cord. The bet was taken up, the money deposited and Bernard at once pulled off his broadcloth coat and vest, took off his silk hat, and, after explaining the affair in German to the old sawyer, made him put on his fashionable coat, which almost reached down to the old man's ankles, and the hat falling upon his ears, while the tall leader squeezed him-

self into the Bavarian jacket, put on the furred cap, and, after taking the old man's long pipe in his mouth, lustily began his task. The wood-sawyer, who stood by bossing the job and smoking a fine Havana cigar, laughingly looked on. Of course this comic picture attracted a large crowd of boys and men, and before long the entire neighborhood was standing in the street and in doors and windows to witness the scene, and encourage the worker with shouts and cheers. When the job was done, Bernard was hailed with loud applause, and after he had changed clothes the money was delivered to the victor, who handed it to the old man, who received it with many thanks. A general drink was paid for by the loser, when the signal was given for the rehearsal, and all went in to work. Many other fooleries were perpetrated during this season, such as mystifying unsophisticated countrymen with cock-and-bull stories about actors, rubbing limburger cheese under the tailboard of the leader's violin; in short, these lads seemed to have more life than their profession could exhaust.

Three marriages took place in the company during the season. Benj. Vogel was joined in the bonds of wedlock, and John Bernard and Oswald Blake, the low comedian, were married to members of the company.

One of the most marked distinctions of the old actors from the present consisted in their family life, which, as near as possible, was like that of other people. The majority of those that were of age were married and had children, comparatively few of whom, however, have followed their parents' calling. I have known actor families of four, six, eight, and in one case of even twelve, children, most of whom have chosen other vocations in life, and I say it with pleasure that I am in touch with many of them this very day, and that as citizens and worthy members of their respective callings, they leave nothing to be wished for. The advantage the actor derived from this social distinction, a condition which entailed the cares, sorrows and joys of parental solicitude, could not but be instructive in the very essentials of life, and the effect this necessarily would have on their moral

actions and artistic labors certainly must have been beneficial. With the present itinerant system, a family life, of course, is impossible.

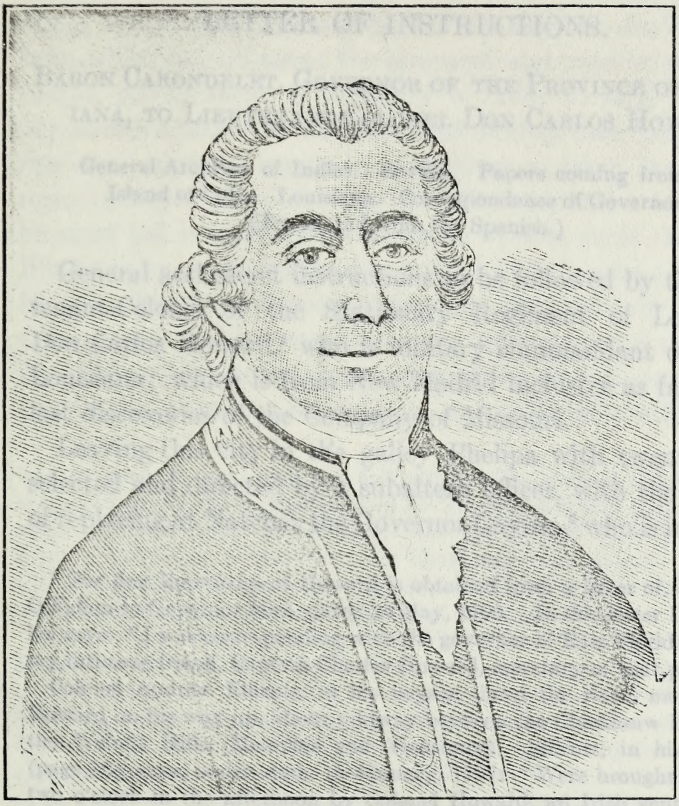
As I have now arrived at the termination of my first season and the fulfillment of my youthful ambition, I will ring down the curtain upon the first act of my theatrical career.

(*Continuation to follow.*)

"April 1830

"We arrived at St Louis on Sunday the 25th of April, on so cold a morning that the first request I made on reaching the City hotel, in the upper part of the town, was for a fire which was immediately granted. The hotel turned out a very comfortable one. It contains a great deal of accommodation. The only inconvenience I felt arose from the people not being accustomed, as seems generally the case in the western country, to place water-basons and a towel in every bed room. The system of washing at some place near the well is general, but the waiters or chamber-maids never refuse to bring every thing to the bed room that is desired. It is, however, so little the practice to bring washing apparatus to the bed rooms, that they are very apt to forget a general direction regularly to do so. . . . .

I found that coal fires were universal at St Louis. There were more Frenchmen than Englishmen in the hotel, and a group of Mexicans from Santa Fé. There is a road, or a passable tract, from hence to Santa Fé which wagons travel with an escort."—*Three Years in North America* by James Stuart. Esq—



Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS.

BARON CARONDELET, GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA, TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL DON CARLOS HOWARD.

General Archives of Indies. Seville. Papers coming from the Island of Cuba. Louisiana. Correspondence of Governors. (Translated from the Spanish.)

General and secret instructions to be followed by the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Stationary Regiment of Louisiana, Don Carlos Howard,[1] who is military commandant of Upper Louisiana; which is from New Madrid inclusive as far as the last discoveries of the Company of Missouri.

Leaving this city in the galley Phelipa with twenty men, selected and directed by a subaltern officer, with the pretext of replacing at Natchez the Governor Gayoso,[2] who is in charge

[1] Our first knowledge of Howard is obtained from a letter of Dr. James O'Fallon to Governor Mirò, dated 24 May, 1790. In this letter Dr. O'Fallon says: "I was corresponding with the governor of East Florida through my intimate friend, Captain Charles Howard, secretary of that province."

Colonel Andrew Ellicott, in his voyage down the river, met Colonel Howard on his way up, about midway between the Chickasaw Bluffs and the Walnut Hills (Memphis and Vicksburg). Ellicott, in his Journal (page 36), says, under date 15 January, 1797: "Were brought to about two o'clock in the afternoon by Colonel Howard, an Irish gentleman in the service of His Catholic Majesty, who had two armed galleys with him."

Howard must have reached St. Louis in February, 1797. The only information to be had as to the length of his stay is dervied from a letter of his to Soulard, dated 1 August, 1797, in which he says: "Even at this day, when I am leaving this place, my successor, Don Zenon Trudeau," etc. In this letter he designates himself "Don Carlos Howard, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of Louisiana, and by special commission of the Sôr Field Marshal, the Baron de Carondelet, Military Commander of Upper Louisiana."

Gayarré mentions that, in 1806, Colonel Howard was in command at Pensacola and was conciliatory in his disposition towards the Americans. 4 Gayarré, History of Louisiana, 155-6.

With this, he disappears from our view.

[2] Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos became Governor of Louisiana, 1 August, 1797, and died while in office, 18 July, 1799, aged forty-eight years. He

of tracing the boundary lines, he will find upon his arrival the small galley of the King, the "Activa," in which he will embark with his detachment and crew with the least possible delay, transferring to same half of the crew of the Phelipa, from which he will select the strongest and most courageous people, giving them, if necessary in order to satisfy them, one month's wages in advance, and taking from same Phelipa two months' supply of provisions at least, for all his men, to which Governor Gayoso will contribute; to whom he must tell in confidence what is to be done in St. Louis of Illinois in order to restore the peace which has been marred by some hot headed people since the departure of General Collot,[3] and nothing more, because nothing more must be known in regard to the evacuation of the *Barrancas* at Margot,[4] nor of anything else referred to in this instruction.

was an officer in the army and had attained the rank of Colonel. He succeeded Grand Pré as commandant at Natchez, and held that position when advanced to the governership. He was at New Madrid in 1795, with a commission to treat with the disaffected Kentuckians. He was educated in England and married an American girl—a Miss Watts. He was a man of good character and abilities, but a spendthrift.

[3] Gen. George Victor Collot came to St. Louis from Philadelphia in 1796. He studied the situation from a military point of view, and his book contains a plan for the fortification of the place. Governor Carondelet confiscated a part of General Collot's papers and his instructions concerning the fort at St. Louis show that he was disposed to profit by them. General Collot's book, which was published after his death, contains a plan of St. Louis and several excellent maps of the Mississippi River.

Collot was no doubt sent by Genet to spy out the land in furtherance of some design which was never carried out or attempted.

[4] For the location and early history of the *Ecores à Margot*, see Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. 2, No. 6, p. 76n. The Barrancas, or, to give it its full name, Fort San Fernando de Barrancas, was erected pursuant to a treaty with the Chickasaws, negotiated by Gayoso a year or two before, for the purpose of protecting Louisiana from any invasion which might proceed from the United States. Although a stockade was commenced soon afterwards, the fort was not completed until May, 1795. In June, 1795, the Baron de Carondelet wrote to Maison Rouge "that the strong fort at the post of 'Echore Margot,' defended by eight pieces of eight-pound cannon, was completed on the 31st of May, 1795, when the Spanish flag was hoisted and saluted by repeated discharges of cannon from the shore as well as from the galleys in the river." For some reason, Colonel Howard did not destroy the fort upon his way to St. Louis, as here

On his arrival at the *Barrancas* he will secretly, with the commandant, Don Jose Ville, and with the commander of the galleys, Don Manuel Garcia, take all the measures for the evacuation of the place, where nothing will remain, throwing in the river or burning whatever cannot be brought in the galleys.

As the Chickasaw Indians may resent the evacuation, it will be best to do it with much order and speed; the battery, or at least one pair of cannons, remaining set up until the last moment, as well as one of the forts, which will be burnt when embarking, after having removed all the hardware serviceable. If any chief or trader of the Chickasaws would make opposition with his warriors to the destruction of the buildings, they will be told that it is in their interest that they be destroyed, so as to prevent the Americans from easily locating in them.

After everything is loaded in the galleys and other smaller boats they will go towards New Madrid, where the following dispositions will be made for the Illinois expedition.

From the troop of the royal body of artillery of the standing army of Louisiana, and from the pieces of artillery collected at that port, will be assigned to

NEW MADRID,

Outfit.

Cannons of four	4 with 100 bullets and 90 grape-shots.
Stone guns	4 with 40 shots.
Powder.	
Artillerymen, including a corporal	2
Troop of the Stationary Regiment (*del fixo*)	32

instructed; he destroyed it in the autumn of 1797, upon his voyage back to New Orleans.

See 1 Monette's History of the Mississippi Valley, pp. 484-531. The United States later built Fort Pickering at about the same place.

ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS,

All the balance of the artillery.
Stone guns, do.
Artillerymen, including a corporal..... 2
Troop of the Stationary Regiment..... 110
including four sergeants, eight corporals and two drummers.

In order to complete this detachment in New Madrid, 61 men of the Stationary Regiment will be taken up, including the 20 of the active service, all artillerymen, the artillery and stone-slingers with their weapons and ammunition in the two galleys, small galleys and cannon launches, in case they can be contained therein, and the rest in the third galley, which will be put immediately in movement, commanded by Don Juan Barno, and will return to this capital, leaving on the way ten men in Arkansas.[5] If the third galley should be needed for the expedition, the surplus troops will be embarked in same, and the goods which have to be returned to the capital will remain stored at New Madrid until their return.

In order that the restless spirits in St. Louis shall not be surprised at the coming of the expedition, he will have to spread the news after his arrival at New Madrid that the object of his trip is to protect St. Louis, Illinois, from any possible invasion of the British, in case a war should be declared; but if, on his arrival at New Madrid, the river should be frozen and one should deem urgent his arrival with his detachment at St. Louis, he should try all possible means to get on by land, leaving orders to the commander of the galleys to follow with his squadron as soon as the ice would permit.

There not being in St. Louis sufficient quarters for lodging one hundred and ten men, who have to remain as garrison, the residents must give lodging in their own houses to those who cannot find room at the fort, or a house must be rented at the expense of the residents, making them understand that this troop is there for their own protection and defense.

[5] For Arkansas Post, see 2 Missouri Historical Society Collections No. 6, p. 76*n*.

He should try also to see that room could be secured at the house of some of the best citizens for the three officers of his detachment, Jose de Ville, D. Francisco Borras and D. Federico Anteman, and as near as possible to the troop, so the strictest discipline be observed; the same care will be taken as to the artillery, making them both drill frequently in the handling of the arms as well as that of the cannon.

After the troop is established and all of the artillery is unloaded, with the ammunition, weapons, etc., which will be temporarily placed in the neighborhood of the fort whilst they are being distributed in the points of defense, as deemed necessary, he will call a meeting of the most prominent residents and will tell them how disagreeable had been to me the ungratefulness shown by some of the residents towards the Spanish Government, which has always tried, especially since the last few years, to promote business and the prosperity of the Illinois Establishments, and they had gone to excesses, not only in showing an indecent joy at the unfounded hope that they would change rulers, but they went as far as to form a private society called "Sansculottes,"[6] singing turbu-

[6] The following is from a letter of the Baron de Carondelet to Aranza, dated December 1, 1796:

"The effects of the voyage made to this Province by the General of the French Republic, George Victor Collot, have very soon become apparent. I detained him some days on account of his having made in detail the plan of the river and most of the forts of this Province, as Your Excellency will have been advised by my Captain General. For I am advised under date of 17 October, that in St. Louis of Illinois, capital of those settlements, that after his departure a society has been formed under the name of Sanculottes, at the head of which is a Frenchman by name of Coignard; that it gives frequent meetings and public balls, to which invitations are sent out without dissimulation under the said name of Sanculottes, and that during these entertainments revolutionary songs are sung which are capable of inducing the most loyal vassals to rebellion; that that same Society had the boldness to march through the houses of the most notable inhabitants of the town, and especially that of the Curé, with music, to wish a Happy New Year on the 22nd day of September last, or rather on the eve of the 23rd, on which the year begins, according to the new French Calendar.

It is all the more important to crush out without delay the beginnings of so dangerous a sedition, which, if extended to the other towns of which St. Louis, Illinois is the capital, their suppression would be extremely

lent and revolutionary songs depreciating the government; but, after having been well informed of the parties who had promoted such excesses, and well convinced that the rest had

difficult and costly; first, because those settlements from New Madrid up can withdraw themselves totally from Lower Louisiana whenever they need, and sell their fruits and goods, which consist principally of skins, to the English and Americans at better prices than those of the capital; second, because of the ease with which they could receive support secretly from the English of Canada who trade upon the Missouri, as well as from the democratic Americans and French, who would come in numbers to establish themselves in these fertile and beautiful countries; finally, because any expedition which might be sent out to reduce the revolters could set out only from New Orleans, and it would necessarily take from two and a half to three months to reach St. Louis, and the cost would consequently be immense, and as it could only receive supplies and aid from Lower Louisiana, it would be exposed to perish from hunger, in the event that its progress should be retarded. All these considerations had determined me to send secretly the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Stationary Regiment, Don Carlos Howard, an officer of tried courage and talents, to Illinois, with secret orders to arrest upon his arrival the Chief of the Coignard Society, with some of the other most notable members, and send them promptly to this capital for trial and make an exemplary punishment of those who should be found guilty."

Louis Coignard was an European Frenchman, son of Jean Louis Coignard and Marianne Pelagie Baudri of Chatillon in Poitou, where he was born. He married in St. Louis, 26 April, 1797, Julie Vasquez, daughter of Benito Vasquez, one of the leading Spanish citizens. The archives show that on 10 June, 1797, he bought of Guillaume Hebert *dit* Le compte a negro girl named Benita, for four hundred and fifty dollars; Don Federico Anteman signing the bill of sale as a witness. Five years later, Coignard, then a citizen and merchant of New Madrid, lent his father-in-law $2,000, the payment being secured by a mortgage upon Vasquez's farm on White Ox prairie (*en la praderia llamada El Buey Blanco*), near St. Louis. Two years later, Coignard, still at New Madrid, acknowledged satisfaction of the mortgage. One Isaac Septlivres married another of the daughters of Vasquez. It seems that a part of her *dot* was the farm on White Ox prairie. Septlivres borrowed money from his brother-in-law, Coignard, who again received a mortgage on this land as security. Septlivres failed to pay, and at the November term, 1826, of the St. Louis Circuit Court, Coignard brought suit to foreclose the mortgage. After this we see him no more.

There were two men in St. Louis bearing the name Jean Marie Pepin *dit* Lachanse, whom Billon has compressed into one. The elder and first comer, here as early as 1767, was a *maitre maçon* and a trader in town lots. He was a capable, active man, but uneducated; not being able to write his name. He was never married, and died in 1784, leaving his property by will to Tayon and Mainville. The younger Jean Marie Pepin seems to have come to St. Louis in the year 1774, or earlier. He describes

been drawn in inconsiderately through fear and bad example, he had decided that those named Coignard, Pepin, and the others of whose bad conduct he has information, should be

himself as "*commerciante voyageur.*" He also traded in town lots. He was born near Quebec, 3 April, 1737. His sister, Marie Christine Pepin, was married in St. Louis in January, 1774, to Charles Biset. He was killed in the *coup* of 1780, and a little over a year later she married Jean Baptiste Provencher. Jean Marie married, 13 November, 1779, Catherine, daughter of François Lalumandiere and Louise Perthuis, of Ste. Genevieve.

In the census of 1787 he and his family appear as follows:

"Juan Maria Pepen,		*edad*	48
Catarina, su mujer,		"	29
Sus hijas	Caterina	"	5
	Celeste	"	3"

His occupation is given as *Labrador*—farmer—and his products for the year 200 minots of wheat, 330 of maize and 3,000 pounds of lead.

Pepin's disposition to be "*agin the gov'ment*" was not a consequence of the French Revolution. In Professor Alvord's admirable edition of the Cahokia Records, 1778-1790, we find this judgment against him, under date 2 February, 1790:

"The Court, having carefully deliberated, declared the said M. Pepin a disturber of the peace of this village, caught and convicted of having wished to excite a sedition against the Court; and he has held in this village discourses against it, leading to menaces, defiances and outrages on its authority, and other injurious talk; for reparation of which the said Court condemns him to be held in prison in irons, under the custody of the bailiff, two militia men and an officer of the militia for five days; at the end of which time he shall be placed outside of the prison and conducted by a guard to the Mississippi, and commanded to cross to the Spanish part and never to reappear in this village without permission of the commandant of this post or of a magistrate, on pain of corporal punishment." 2 Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, 437.

Since it was not the practice then, as it is now, to nullify such judgments by an appeal, M. Pepin doubtless served his term and gave the Cahokians no more trouble.

Subsequent to 1797 his name has not been found in the St. Louis archives. Billon says that he removed to Ste. Genevieve soon after his marriage, which is a manifest error. I am informed, however, that after 1797 he did live at Ste. Genevieve, where he was a prosperous lead miner, and that he left a considerable family. His daughter, Celeste, married at Ste. Genevieve, 12 February, 1804, Charles Archambeau, and in the marriage contract she is described as daughter of the late (*fille de feu*) Jean Marie Pepin.

The fact that what appears to have been a dangerous blow aimed at the people of the village was warded off without injury, is to be attributed,

sent to the capital. (Don Zenon Trudeau,[7] Vallé[8] and Don Carlos Lassus[9] will take care that the number be reduced as

no doubt, to the active interference of Governor Trudeau and the other persons recommended by Carondelet to Howard as advisers, in behalf of the accused.

[7] Zenon Trudeau was Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis from 21 July, 1792, to 2 August, 1799. It was during his incumbency that the official designation of the country was changed from *la partida occidental de Illinois* to *Alta Luisiana*—from "the western part of the Illinois" to Upper Louisiana. Trudeau came of a distinguished Louisiana family, deriving its American origin from Canada. He was born 9 November, 1748; married at New Orleans, 10 June, 1781, the Damoiselle Eulalie de Lassize; died in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana, in 180–. Trudeau's "Excessive indulgence" to Collot was that he allowed him to make a short voyage up the Missouri.

[8] For an account of Don Francisco Vallé, see Notes on the Genealogy of the Vallé Family, by Mary Louise Dalton, Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. 2, No. 7.

[9] Don Carlos de Hault Delassus, second son of Pierre de Luziere (see *infra*, note 15), was born at Bouchaine in the ancient province of Hainault, in April, 1764. In 1782 he entered into the Spanish army under the arrangement called the *Pacte de famille*, permitting Frenchmen to enter the Spanish service, and Spaniards the French, without losing their nationality. He became distinguished for his soldierly qualities and was promoted to lieutenant-colonel on the battle-field in 1793. The next year he was placed in command of the King's body-guard in Madrid. Here his rapid advancement was certain. But, receiving a letter from his father in America which depressed him, he (to translate his own words) threw himself at the feet of the King and begged of His Grace permission to go as lieutenant-colonel to the regiment of Louisiana, where he could be useful to his family. The King immediately granted his request. Delassus writes as though he left Spain at once for Louisiana, and says, "and upon my arrival the Governor, the Baron de Carondelet, facilitated my projects by appointing me civil and military commandant of New Madrid, to which place I ascended in a *batteau* freighted with merchandise." It was not until December, 1796, that Delassus took command at New Madrid. In August, 1799, he was promoted to be lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana, and removed to St. Louis. He continued to govern Upper Louisiana until he surrendered it to France, 9 March, 1804. Joining his regiment at Pensacola, he was later sent as commandant to Baton Rouge, where he remained until 1810, when he resigned from the army. He married at Baton Rouge in 1811, a daughter of Don Gilberto Leonard, the Spanish *contador*. She died in 1816, and shortly afterward the Governor returned to St. Louis and purchased a farm on the river north of where the U. S. Arsenal now stands. After about ten years he removed to New Orleans and died there 1 May, 1843. He had three children, two of whom died in childhood. The survivor, a son, returned to Missouri, and died January, 1889, leaving descendants.

far as possible, in order to tranquilize the rest of the inhabitants), adding, finally, that I am convinced that all the inhabitants will contribute with their efforts and with their slaves to put the town, with its property and children, under safeguard from the insults of the British, for which reason I sent them a numerous detachment. He will at once ask for a list of the people who are able to take up arms, for their age and skill, what their weapons are, and ammunition, and, after adjourning the meeting, he will have the guilty ones captured and embarked on board of the galleys, and same will be started away, and watched by the balance of the army of the 110 men of the standing army who have to remain in St. Louis.

The galley "Venganza," with the two small galleys and the cannon launch, will remain in St. Louis, the first only with its captain and two sailors, the two small galleys under the direction of the lieutenant of the army, Don Juan Metzinger, and the second lieutenant, Don Bernard Molina, with its crew each one complete, and the cannon launch with a patron and two sailors. The direction of the marine will remain in charge of said Juan Metzinger, who will take orders from the lieutenant colonel, Don Carlos Howard, military commandant.

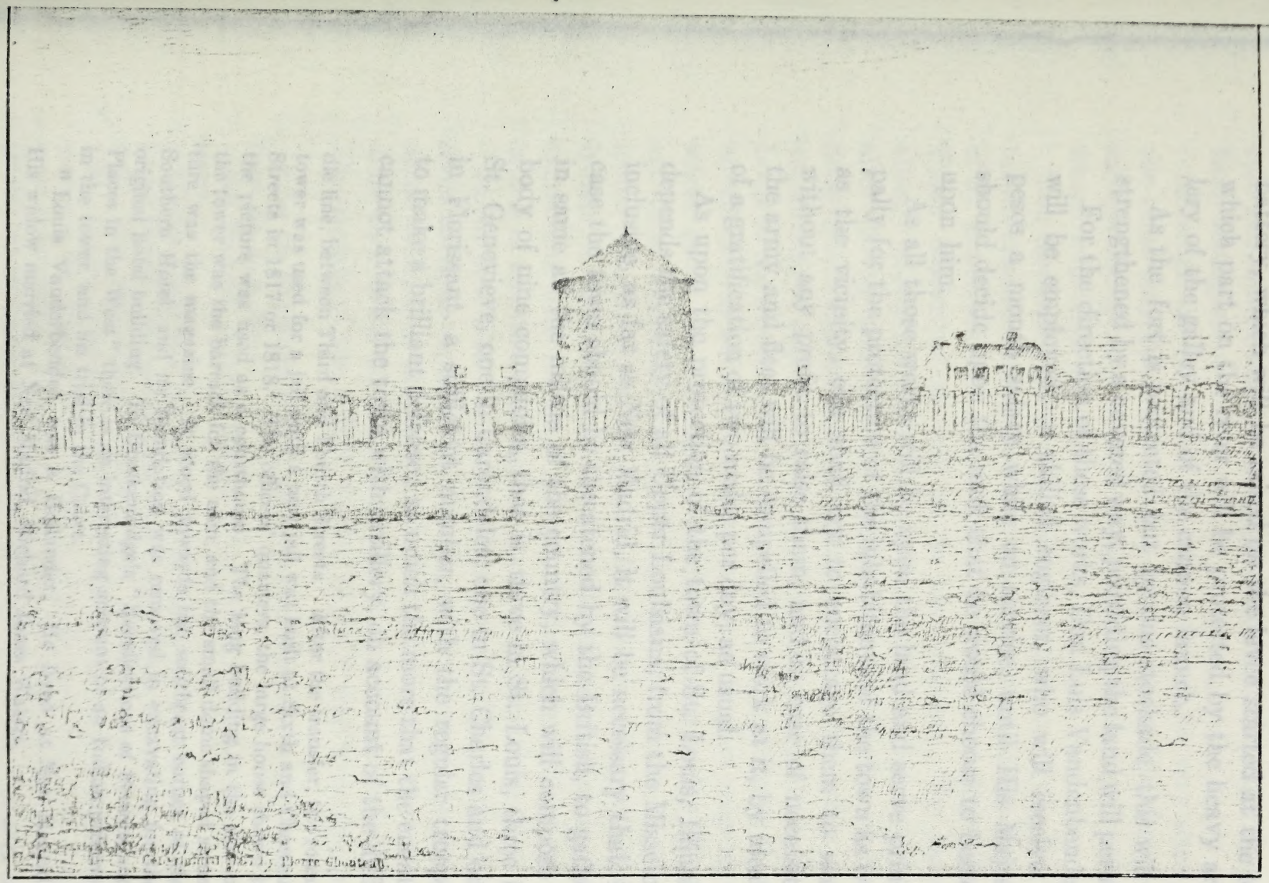
In case the galley should have to be equipped for some expedition, Don Juan Metzinger will have to command it, and its crew must be completed from that of the two small galleys, but if these should be necessary just at the same time, one would then complete that of the galley with people of the country, who would be paid just like the other sailors, unless they consent to go as volunteers and without any payment; with the promise to have a certain part in the booty which will be taken from the enemy; the same will be done when it is necessary to equip the cannon launch.

From the two large galleys which must return to the capital, the hand grenades, weapons and ammunition will be taken, and, if necessary, the four-pounders from the bow, for the defense of the town, leaving to the commander of the galleys the captain of the army, Don Manuel Garcia, who must return with them, the account of everything that has been taken from them.

Circumstances not permitting the undertaking of works of any magnitude without prior approval of His Majesty, all that will be put into effect, in accordance with the plan accompanying, is to place the town in safety from an assault by temporary fortifications and field works, the total cost of which will not exceed five thousand pesos, availing themselves of the advantages offered by the situation of the town and the vicinity of the ravine running on its right. The low ground ought to be inundated by means of a dam, which will make the water overflow, which will be protected by a redoubt which will be raised over the same side, fires of which must cross with those of the fort,[10] and these with those of the

[10] "The town of St. Louis, capital of Upper Louisiana, being extremely important on account of its situation, for upon its holding depends that of the whole territory as far as Akansar, a post located two hundred and fifty leagues lower down, it is very possible, and even probable, that the English will undertake its conquest, which in its present condition would cost them no more than to present themselves with six hundred men, as its only defense consists of a little stockade fort, garrisoned by twenty-eight men. Consequently I have determined to put it at little cost in a state of regular defense, making use of a creek, the waters of which would make a considerable inundation around it by means of a dam, and building at its two extremes two redoubts of earth and fascines, and mounted by several guns, which would cross fires with the fort situated in the center upon a very advantageous elevation. As the enemy cannot bring artillery without the greatest difficulty, it is evident that with the detachment which St. Louis will have, and some five companies of excellent militia which can be raised, it will be capable of a regular defense against the forces that can attack it."—Letter of Carondelet to Aranza, quoted from above.

The fort at St. Louis which, it is said, was called Fort San Carlos, stood upon the brow of the hill at the intersection of Walnut Street and Fourth. A satisfactory account of its building cannot now be given. It seems that the tower was begun prior to 1780. Pascal Cerré, speaking of the *coup* of 1780, says that the alarm gun was shot from the tower to warn the people. (Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. 2, No. 6, p. 52.) It is known that subsequent to the *coup*, Governor Cruzat, in 1780, had the village surrounded with a palisade and work done upon the fortifications, but they were not completed. August Chouteau, in May, 1794, in his proposal to build Fort Carondelet on the Osage River, stipulates that "it shall have four bastions, with the corresponding footbank, like the fort recently built at St. Louis of Illinois." Just what additions Colonel Howard made to the fort we do not know. He built several round towers on the line of the palisade and a block house on the bank of Mill Creek, about on the north line of the present Chouteau Avenue, west of the mid-



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FORT SAN CARLOS, FOURTH AND WALNUT STREETS, ST. LOUIS.

battery, which will be raised on the levee started at the left, which part on the river will be protected by the heavy artillery of the galley and of the cannon launch.

As the fort is protected but by one stockade, this will be strengthened by a covered way, providing the land will permit.

For the direction of these works, Don Luis Vandenbenden[11] will be employed; a skilled engineer, who will receive 80 pesos a month salary while on service, until His Majesty should decide upon the rank that he would choose to bestow upon him.

As all those works will be upon the land and serve principally for the protection of the inhabitants of the town as well as the vicinity, one shall try to encourage them to work without any profit to raise them, and in case of necessity, the army and fleet will be compelled to work at it, by means of a gratification of two reales per day, as usual.

As upon the protection of the town of St. Louis, Illinois, depends the safety of all Upper Louisiana, from the Missouri, inclusive, as far as New Madrid, it will be necessary that, in case the town should be threatened by the British, to gather in same all the militia of the country, which will compose a body of nine companies, that is, three in St. Louis, three in St. Genevieve, one in Carondelet, one in St. Charles and one in Florissant, a sufficient number, with the regular troops, to make a brilliant defense; so much the more that the enemy cannot attack the town with artillery, on account of the diffi-

dle line, between Third and Fourth Streets. After the transfer, the round tower was used for a jail until a new jail was built at Sixth and Chestnut Streets in 1817 or 1818. The officers' quarters, the large house shown in the picture was used as a courthouse. The long building in the rear of the tower was the barrack for the men, and the small dome shaped structure was the magazine. It stood towards the southeast corner of the Southern Hotel, and its foundation was removed in excavating for the original hotel building. In Brackenridge's "Recollections of Persons and Places in the West" there is an interesting account of an Indian prisoner in the tower, and his trial in the Court.

[11] Louis Vanderbenden was a Hollander. He lived at New Madrid. His widow married at New Madrid, Richard Jones Waters.

cult and almost impossible transportation of the same from Lake Michigan.

Although the forces that may be used may be very small, one must only think of making a good defense; the circumstances offered may be such as to make much damage to the enemy with little expense.

Two essential objects must have the attention of the lieutenant-colonel, Carlos Howard: the protection of the town of St. Louis, and the destruction of the English trade on the Upper Mississippi as well as on the Missouri. We have already spoken about the first, and as for the second, if, right after having arranged the lodging and distribution of his detachment and secured the necessary data, he orders an expedition to explore the coasts of the Mississippi from St. Louis to the mouth of the St. Peter's River, it is probable that he will destroy and capture many canoes of English property, whose goods can be equally distributed between the King and those composing the expedition; but, in order to be protected from insults on the part of the savages siding with the British, it will be desirable to have the cannon launch in the expedition, with the small galleys, as the large artillery contained in the first will frighten them and make them flee.

In the year 1781 [12] a number of the people of St. Louis, with some savages, captured St. Joseph, on the river of the same name which is a tributary to the Lake Michigan; what was done then could be done now with better means and skill. The captain of the militia, Carlos Tayon,[13] who took charge

[12] For the Expedition of 1781, see 2 Missouri Historical Society Collections, No. 6, p. 74*n*.

Also Professor Alvord's Edition of the Cahokia Records, referred to above.

[13] Carlos Tayon was the son of Joseph Michel *dit* Taillon and Marie Louise Boissel. His parents came from Canada to the Illinois at an early date. They were at Fort Chartres in 1748, and removed to St. Louis in 1764. Charles Tayon was born in 1759. There is an hiatus in the parish records of Ste. Anne de Fort Chartres, so that the exact date of his birth is not ascertainable. He married at St. Louis in 1780, Cecile Deschamps. He did not command the party which captured St. Joseph, Michigan, as stated in the text, but was a subaltern under Eugene Pouré *dit* Beausoleil. At the time Duchouquette was killed on the banks of Chouteau's Pond

of that expedition, is still living, and I have no doubt that he will teach the way of taking and destroying that place a second time.

A like expedition could be attempted against any other post that the British have established in order to trade in furs, on the nearest rivers. But, providing the news is confirmed which the lieutenant-governor, Don Zenon Trudeau has obtained concerning the establishment of a fort by the British at the Mandan Nation,[14] he will fit out with the greatest secrecy (considering all the information that he may be able to secure from the traders who have gone as far as that nation), a sufficient expedition for destroying such fort; as the order of His Majesty on this matter is positive and does not admit any objections nor any further delay, than what is necessary in the selection of the most favorable season for the success of the expedition.

As it may very well be that the French may attack Canada by the St. Lawrence River, and rouse a revolution in their favor, which would surely cause the Governor of Canada to bring all his attention and forces towards Upper Canada, the Lieutenant Colonel, Carlos Howard, will try beforehand to secure information as to the force and situation of the English posts and of the disposition of their inhabitants, chiefly of Michelimakinak, to stir up at that place at the same time a

by a party of Lenapé Indians, Tayon led a troop of soldiers in pursuit of the Indians and killed five of them. For his precipitancy he was reprimanded by the Spanish authorities. In a petition for a grant of land, dated 14 January, 1800, he is described as sub-lieutenant in the army, Captain of Militia and Commandant of the Post of St. Charles of Missouri.

Merriwether Lewis writes, 20 May, 1804, (1 Lewis and Clark Journals, Thwaites's Ed., p. 23): "Suped this evening with Monsr. Charles Tayong, a Spanish Ensign and late Commandant of St. Charles." The date of his death is not ascertained.

[14] Lewis and Clark found representatives of the Northwest Fur Company at the Mandan village, but Dr. Coues makes no mention of there having been a British fort at that place. In his letter to Aranza, quoted above, Carondelet says: "I propose to suppress the clandestine commerce which the English from Canada carry on upon the Mississippi, from the river of St. Peter to St. Louis of Illinois, and from that town to the Mandan nation, situated upon the Missouri, four hundred leagues above St. Louis; to destroy the fort which they have built upon the River Chato" (Platte).

revolution in lower Canada in favor of France, which would put Upper Louisiana entirely in safety from the British during this war; seeing that the correspondence that the inhabitants of St. Louis have with those of Michelimakinak is very lively, and there will not be much difficulty for forming secret plots with them, and one can promise them weapons, ammunition, and even to support them with an expedition, in case, as I said, the English Governor would withdraw the army from lower Canada, in order to fight the French in Upper Canada.

The men to be used in any of the above expeditions will not exceed two hundred, counting the regular troops and the militia; it is well understood that from the first not over forty men can be spared, which commission will be especially that of artillery, providing for the expedition some light batteries to be used, the effect of which will be very useful with the savages. From these one can select as many as two hundred of the most loyal and courageous for each expedition; promising them a part of the booty, providing a large one is made, the same promise can be given to those of the inhabitants who will volunteer without any salary, in the expedition; the rest will have the usual salary while under service, and a daily ration; when the Stationary Regiment is complete, or His Majesty decides that the number of troops in the province be increased, the St. Louis garrison will be strengthened in order to place it in a position to more annoy the British and, above all, to ruin their trade in the northern part of the Missouri.

It is decided that the Lieutenant Governor, Don Zenon Trudeau, will remain with the civil command of the Illinois establishment and of St. Louis, owing to the knowledge he has of affairs there, obtained by four years' service, and to the great attachment its inhabitants in general show to him. He is soft-hearted, sometimes to the extreme, but he is a very good officer, and fully trustworthy; his excessive indulgence with General Collot was the result of his sweet and peaceable character. It is necessary that Mr. Howard shall treat him

with kindness and trust, so that the inhabitants will gladly execute his military orders.

The Lieutenant, Don Jose de Ville de Zontin, is an officer of firm character, to whom one can trust the command of an expedition, which may require courage and activity, as well as the interests of the detachment; although it will be more suitable that Don Zenon Trudeau would take them in his own charge.

The second lieutenant, Don Francisco Borras, has only the courage of a grenadier, and his conduct is not good.

The lieutenant of the army, Don Juan Metzinger, is fearless, an excellent hunter and untiring, without any military tactics, always willing, and a very good hand stroke; to keep the good order and the discipline in the marine, he must remain as commander of all the King's ships.

The second lieutenant, Don Bernards Molina, is rough and coarse, but untiring, courageous, and an excellent man for subduing his inferiors; his sailors say that he is addicted to drink since he is in service.

The lieutenant-colonel, Don Carlos Lassus, commander of New Madrid, is an excellent person who has distinguished himself in the last wars, and a very honorable man. His father, Don Pedro Lusiere,[15] a rich French emigrant, is living retired in Ste. Genevieve, by whose citizens he is much

[15] Pierre Charles Dehault, Knight, Lord of de Lassus, de Luziere, and Knight of the Royal Order of St. Michel, Captain and Commandant, Civil and Military, of New Bourbon and its Dependencies, is the way he is described in a petition for the grant of land bearing date 1795. He was of the old nobility of Hainault, now Department du Nord, in France.

He emigrated to the United States in 1790, with his wife, two sons, a daughter and several servants. Not having succeeded in his enterprises in the United States, he came to Louisiana, the Governor of which, the Baron de Carondelet, was a friend of his childhood. A concession of land near Ste. Genevieve was made to him and he there founded a settlement which he called *Nouvelle Bourbon*. In 1799 this settlement had over five hundred inhabitants, but it has long since disappeared from the map.

A letter of Wm. Henry Harrison to Governor Delassus, dated 1802, contains complimentary messages to Monsieur and Madame de Luziere. He was certainly living at the time of the transfer of the country to the United States, 10 March, 1804. The date of his death is not ascertained. For his titles, see U. S. Reports, 9 Peters, p. 121.

esteemed, also the commander, Don Francisco Vallé, who is a man of good qualities, although without any military tactics; both are deserving of great trust, and with their influence, that town, which is getting more populous and useful, could be easily handled; but one ought to send away from there the army captain, Don Enrique Peiroux,[16] who is a very suspicious individual, and seditious, if any plausible cause is to be found for this act. About two years ago he promised to leave that post, after my predecessor had made him commander, but he has never done so.

Don Luis Lorimer,[17] captain of the militia established at Cape Girardeau, is a Frenchman, who has served us well during the last war, and whose influence on part of the Shawnee Nation, from which he took an Indian girl for his wife, can be very useful; for the rest, he is a man of interested views, who thinks of his promotion.

In St. Louis the two brothers Chouteau,[18] the son of Don

[16] Henri Peyroux de la Coudreniere was Captain of Infantry and Civil and Military Commandant of Ste. Genevieve as early as December, 1787. Upon the promotion of Delassus to the governorship of Upper Louisiana in 1799, Peyroux was transferred to New Madrid, but was not in command there in 1804. He was born in France and was the son of Charles Peyroux and Marguerite Suzanne Joualt. His widowed mother and his brother, Pierre Charles Peyroux, also lived at Ste. Genevieve. Jean Baptiste Vallé said of Henry Peyroux that he was a man of property and useful in the country, and that he remained a citizen till long after the purchase of the country by the American Government.

[17] Louis Lorimier was born in Canada in 1748, according to his tombstone. His name does not appear in Tanguay; but he was, perhaps, the son of Claude de Lorimier, *chevalier et captaine*, who married, 7 January, 1730, at Montreal, Marie-Louise Le Pailleux. He is said to have lived in the Miami River in Ohio, prior to his coming to Missouri. He established a trading post at Cape Girardeau about 1794, and was made commandant of the settlement that sprang up there. He was twice married, first to Charlotte Boucherville, a French-Shawnee half breed; and second, to Mary Bethune, a French-Lenapé half breed. The first wife is said to have been a beautiful woman; she died 23 March, 1808, leaving six children, and she has many descendants now living. Lorimier died at Cape Girardeau, 26 June, 1812. Governor Delassus had a much better opinion of Lorimier than that expressed by Carondelet. (See 1 Billon, p. 368).

[18] The two brothers Chouteau are Auguste and Pierre. Pierre Chouteau, who later received the title of Major, spent most of his time among the Osage Indians. He testified, in 1833, that he had been for thirty years among the Indians, with only short stays in St. Louis. In 1792 the

Pedro Luziere[19] and Don . . Soulard,[20] deserve all confidence, the first for their great influence on the numerous tribes of the Osages, they can be very useful in the expeditions; the others, having served in the French marine, can be employed

Osages made him a grant of land in what is now Cooper County, in the following words:

"Brother: As thou hast, since a long time, fed our wives and our children, and that thou hast always been good to us, and that thou hast always assisted us with thy advice, we have listened with pleasure to thy words, therefore, take thou on the River La Mine, the quantity of land which may suit thee, and anywhere thou pleasest. This land is ours; we do give it to thee, and no one can take it from thee, neither to-day nor ever. Thou mayest remain there, and thy bones shall never be troubled. Thou askest a paper from us, and our names; here it is. If our children do trouble thee, you have but to show this same paper; and if some nation disturbs thee, we are ready to defend thee. At the fort of Grand Osages, this 19 of March, 1792."

This paper was signed by Cheveux Blanc, Clermont, Bel Oiseau and many other of the principal men among the Osages. The land so given was further granted to Mr. Chouteau by the Spanish Government and confirmed to him by the United States. Chouteau Spring, in Cooper County, still remains as a memorial of this grant.

Of Auguste Chouteau, Carondelet, in a letter to the Duke of Alcudia, dated 31 May, 1794, says, speaking of a government contract which had been made with Chouteau: "All the risk falls on Don Renato Auguste Chouteau, a man of incorruptible integrity and friendliness to the government; his abilities and wide knowledge, and ,above all, the great authority that he possesses over these Savages, furnish him with facilities for succeeding in an enterprise so arduous that no other man could attain it."

[19]Jacques Marcellin Ceran de Hault de Lassus de St. Vrain, was the third son of Pierre de Luziere, born at Bouchaine in Hainault in 1770. He came with his father and his family to Louisiana in 1793, and after a short stay at New Bourbon, came to St. Louis. Having been an officer in the French navy, he became here commander of the King's galley La Flecha—the Arrow—and captain of militia. On 30 April, 1796, he married Marie Felicite Chauvet Dubreuil of St. Louis, and made his home at the Spanish Lake, twelve miles north of the village, on the Bellefontaine road. He had a large family; among his sons was Felix St. Vrain, who was United States Indian agent and was killed by the Saukies in 1832, and Col. Ceran St. Vrain, who was a partner in the firm of Bent, St. Vrain & Co., and who was a man of distinguished character, famous in the annals of Colorado and New Mexico.

Jacques St. Vrain died 22 June, 1818

[20]Antoine Pierre Soulard was born at Rochefort in France in the year 1766. He was an officer in the French navy, as his father had been before him. The Revolution drove him to become an *emigré* in 1794. He landed in Massachusetts and came at once to St. Louis, traveling to Pittsburgh on horseback and from there by boat. He became captain of militia, adjutant to the lieutenant-governor and Surveyor-General of Upper Louisiana.

in the same capacity in the expedition on the river. Soulard can also serve for the direction of the works under the orders of the volunteer engineer, Don Luis Vandenbenden, with the lieutenant, Don Jose de Ville.

Messrs. Clamorgan,[21] director of the Company of Missouri, Cerre,[22] Pratte[23] and Roubidou,[24] are honorable and loyal

Governor Delassus testified that he was the right arm of the government. He married at St. Louis, 16 November, 1795, Marie-Julie Cerré, daughter of Gabriel Cerré and Catherine Giard. He had four children, and many of his descendants are now living in this city. He died 10 March, 1825; his widow survived him over twenty years, dying 9 March, 1845. Soulard and St. Vrain were close friends. Soulard, with Merriwether Lewis and Charles Gratiot, were subscribing witnesses to the document evidencing the transfer of Upper Louisiana.

[21] Jacques Clamorgan is said to have come to St. Louis from Guadelupe. His name appears first in the archives in 1784. He was a man of some education, wrote good French, and was active, bold and enterprising. He was a leader in the first Missouri Fur Company and was in partnership with Regis Loisel. In 1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, at page 283, is a letter from Robidou to Gayoso protesting against Clamorgan's business methods. His private life was not such as commended him to his fellow townsmen. After the transfer to the Americans, Clamorgan was appointed one of the judges of the Court of Quarter-Sessions. He died about the 1st day of November, 1814, leaving a family of mulatto children. For the Clamorgan Land Claim, see U. S. Reports, 11 Otto 822.

[22] Gabriel Cerré was born at Montreal, 12 August, 1734. He was engaged in business at Kaskaskia in 1755. In 1764 he married at Kaskaskia, Catherine Giard, a native of that place. He was active in the fur trade and accumulated a handsome fortune. He removed to St. Louis in 1779, and made his home at the northeast corner of Main and Vine streets. The census of 1791 showed that his household consisted of sixty-one persons, including forty-three slaves. His wife died 21 July, 1800; and he died 4 April, 1805. For a further account of Cerré, see 2 Missouri Histtorical Society Collections, No. 2, p. 58, and Professor Alvord's Edition of the Cahokia Records, cited above.

[23] Bernard Pratte, son of Jean Baptiste Pratte and Marianne Lalumandière, was born at Ste. Genivieve about 1772. He removed to St. Louis about 1793 and 12 May, 1794, married Emelie, daughter of Silvestre Labadie and Pelagie Chouteau. He engaged in business in St. Louis as a general merchant and so accumulated a fortune. Later he became a member of the fur trading houses of Berthold & Chouteau, and Pratte, Chouteau & Co. He was a general of militia; member of the first board of trustees of the town of St. Louis, and was appointed by Governor Merriwether Lewis, judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He died 1 April, 1836. His son Bernard was twice mayor of St. Louis, 1844, 1845. His daughter Emelie married Ramsay Crooks; Thérèse, Louis D. Peugnet, and Pelagie, Louis V. Bogy.

[24] Joseph Robidou was born in Canada in 1750. He was of mixed French

citizens. Gratiot[25] has talent and numerous connections with Canada. Finally, Mr. Zenon Trudeau is a truthful man, and Mr. Carlos Howard can very well get from him full information about each individual.

There is a certain Pepin,[26] a systematic man with a talent

and Spanish blood, his immigrant ancestor to Canada, who married in Quebec in 1667, having been a Spaniard. He came to St. Louis with his father, who also bore the name of Joseph in 1770. He married 21 September, 1784, Catherine Rollet *dit* Laderoute. He engaged in the fur trade and thereby acquired a comfortable fortune. He died 17 March, 1809. He had ten children, of whom the elder, Joseph, was the founder of St. Joseph, Missouri. Descendants bearing the name are still living in St. Louis.

[25] Charles Gratiot was born in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1752. He came of a Huguenot family which had emigrated from La Rochelle, to escape religious persecution. When he was a boy he was sent to London, where he lived some years with an uncle. In 1769 he went to Canada, where he had an uncle with whom he lived at Montreal for about five years. In 1777 he came to the Illinois and established himself in business at Cahokia. The next year he lent valuable assistance to George Rogers Clark, and lent a large sum of money on the faith of bills on the Virginia treasury, which bills were never paid. Gratiot was one of the judges of the Cahokia Court after Clark's conquest and down to July, 1780. Early in 1781 he removed to St. Louis. Here he engaged in business of various kinds, mercantile, milling, distilling and farming, and acquired a competency. On 25 June, 1781, he married Victoire, the eldest daughter of Madame Chouteau. They had thirteen children, of whom nine reached maturity. Gratiot visited Europe in 1791 and again in 1793. After the transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States he was appointed, by William Henry Harrison, the first presiding justice of the Court of Quarter-Sessions; his associates being Auguste Chouteau and David Delaunay. He held this position until 1 July, 1807, when he was succeeded by Silas Bent. For several years after the incorporation of St. Louis he was a member of the town board of trustees, and during the years 1811, 1812 and 1813 he was chairman of the board. He died 20 April, 1817, and his widow died 15 June, 1825. Gratiot was a man of handsome and distinguished personal appearance, great intellectual ability, sterling integrity and possessed of many lovable qualities. A street in the city and a railway station in the suburbs now bear his name.

See Professor Alvord's Cahokia Records, cited above, which contains a good picture of Gratiot.

[26] The name Pepin appears in this place just as in the other. We have seen that Pepin was a restless spirit and not disposed to be submissive to the government. But there is no reason for this passage with relation to the person whose arrest has been heretofore commanded. And, in addition, Pepin appears not to have had a talent for writing. We have no papers of which he is known to have been the author, and in writing

for writing, but he is a restless spirit and an enemy of our government, on which he spoke with acrimony and falsehood to General Collot, from whom I have received these particulars; and said Mr. Zenon Trudeau being present, as said general assured me, Mr. Carlos Howard will get information whether or not this is a fact. In case of the affirmative, he will send him to me, a prisoner with the others, although it is more than probable that he is one of the main ones of the Sansculottes Society; consequently, after his departure he

in the literal sense, he was unskilled. He could write his name in a labored way, but frequently he contented himself with a cross mark. The name Papin is so similar that it may well be what was here intended. Joseph Marie Papin was a well-known person in St. Louis at that time. Little has been learned about his characteristics, but that he was skilled with the pen is certain. His handwriting is beautiful to look at, and is the work of a man who was familiar with such employment, and, so far as a judgment may be founded upon the writing alone, the work of a systematic man. The Society has two of his private letters written in 1780, which show that he was a man interested in public affairs, but manifest no seditious spirit.

Joseph Marie Papin was born at Montreal, 6 November, 1741. His father was Joseph Papin and his mother Marguerite Pepin *dit* Laforce. He was the fourth generation in Canada, his immigrant ancestor having come from the province of Maine in France. Joseph Papin and his son Joseph Marie seem to have come together to St. Louis some time prior to April, 1769, when the name first appears in the archives. Joseph Marie returned to Canada, and during his absence his father died at the home of Bissonet, northwest corner of Main and Olive streets, 18 April, 1772. By his will, which was executed 9 April, 1772, Joseph Papin left all of his property to his son, his wife, and other children, having died prior to his coming to St. Louiss. Joseph Marie soon returned to St. Louis, and on 9 January, 1779, he married Marie Louise, youngest daughter of Madame Chouteau, who was born July, 1764. His home was on the southwest corner of Main and Pine streets, the house being placed a little back from Main street and about a quarter of the block south from Pine. M. Papin was, by his marriage, connected with the leading people of the village, and he seems to have been active in the village life. His name frequently appears as one of the arbitrators in law suits brought before the Governor. No reason has been discussed, aside from this paper, for believing that he was ever molested because of his political opinions. He had eight sons and six daughters. Several of his sons were active and prominent in the fur trade, and the name was well known from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. Papinsville, in Vernon County, Missouri, was named for the fourth son, Pierre Millecour. The family has numerous representatives in St. Louis at the present time. Joseph Marie Papin died 18 September, 1811, and his widow died 27 February, 1817.

will proceed in a summary way against him, the same as against those who have been sent to the capital on trial for their excesses.

In case the enemy attacks the town of St. Louis with such superior forces as to deprive us of any hope of a dignified (*decorosa*) defense, which I consider almost impossible, I mean if he could not bring with him any artillery of a regular caliber, the lieutenant-colonel, Mr. Howard, will try to destroy all the artillery and ammunition which cannot be embarked, and will withdraw to New Madrid, removing it from there also as soon as the enemy would come with forces much superior, in such way as to be able to gather in Arkansas all those that defend Upper Louisiana, and fortify themselves in that post, to cover the settlements in the inland on the western side of the Mississippi, and to molest the ships of the enemies, who may try to go down the Mississippi, until they receive further orders from the Commander General of the province.

The zeal, prudence and activity and love to the royal service that he has shown in the command of the Florida frontier causes me to hope that in cases not provided by these instructions, he will always take such course as will tend to establish the glory of the arms and the tranquillity of Upper Louisiana upon a solid foundation honorable to the Spanish name.

New Orleans, 26 November, 1796.

NOTES.

THE NEW LIBRARIAN.—The Society considers itself very fortunate to have secured the services of Miss Idress Head as Librarian. Miss Head is a native of the "Boon's-Lick Country," of which her progenitors were pioneer settlers. For several years Miss Head was private secretary to Hon. Louis Houck, and aided him in the preparation of his History of Missouri. She acquired, in this employment, a knowledge of and a familiarity with the French and Spanish records, which gives her peculiar fitness for her position. And the fact that she possesses such fitness has been demonstrated in many ways since she assumed the duties of the office.

THE NEW MADRID ARCHIVES.—The following is reprinted from *The Weekly Record*, New Madrid, February 15, 1908:

"It has long been known that the most interesting and important historical documents relating to the early settlement of Upper Louisiana are the old Spanish and French archives found in the office of J. W. Jackson, recorder of deeds of New Madrid County.

Miss Idress Head, the Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society, in St. Louis, an accomplished scholar and historian, called on our county court last week, and after stating her mission, the court made the following order:

'Now comes Miss Idress Head, Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, and makes application that the old Spanish and French papers which have been heretofore delivered by this court to the Honorable Louis Houck, of Cape Girardeau, and which have by him been preserved and bound, for which service and interest the court extends thanks upon behalf of the people of New Madrid county, be transferred to the Missouri Historical Scoiety, there to be kept, preserved, deposited and to remain in trust for New Madrid County.

Therefore, be it ordered that said application be, and the same is, hereby sustained, and it is the judgment and order of this court that as said papers contain the early history of New Madrid, which was among the earliest of the settlements by Spain and France of what is known as the Louisiana Purchase, and are of value to the state of Missouri at large, and that they will be safer and of more benefit deposited with the Missouri Historical Society, that the same be there transferred and remain in Trust for New Madrid County forever.'"

The Missouri Historical Society accepts the trust imposed upon it by the New Madrid county court. It will see to it that the papers are safely preserved, and will, as soon as it is possible to do so, have the collection indexed and the more important papers translated and published. The collection consists of eleven folio volumes of original documents, illustrating every phase of the life of that time. Except for the interest of Mr. Houck, these papers would doubtless have been burned with the New Madrid court house.

J. Gilman Chouteau.—By the will of the late J. Gilman Chouteau, who died in St. Louis on January 12, 1908, the Missouri Historical Society has become the fortunate legatee of his valuable family papers, which include correspondence of his grandfather, Colonel Auguste Chouteau, one of the founders of St. Louis, and documents of the earliest period in the city's history. The papers are so numerous that much time will be required properly to classify them. As soon as practicable, the most interesting will be made accessible by publication in the Missouri Historical Society Collections. That the papers are still in existence is due to a remarkable circumstance which is related in the next paragraph. Mr. Chouteau, the testator, was born in St. Louis, December 2, 1836, the son of Henry and Clemence (Coursault) Chouteau. All his life was spent in St. Louis, except a few years in his early manhood, which he devoted to extensive foreign travel. In partnership with James Edwards, he was engaged for some years in the milling business at Waterloo, Illinois, with offices

in St. Louis. He was a bachelor and had few close friends. When the Southern Hotel was rebuilt after being destroyed by fire in the late seventies, he moved into the new hostlery the first day it was ready for occupancy, being the first person to sign the new register, and the room then assigned to him he lived in continuously till his death. His habits were extraordinarily rigid. Each day he would start out from the hotel at a regular time to make a round of inspection of the houses which he owned. Persons in the neighborhood to whom his figure was well known were said to be able to tell the exact time of day from seeing him pass by on his daily errand.

CHOUTEAU PAPERS.—The following is taken from the editorial columns of *The St. Louis Times* of January 16, 1908:

"FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.

"There is an interesting story in connection with the bequest by the late J. Gilman Chouteau of his family papers and documents to the Missouri Historical Society, which should serve as a warning to those of our citizens who may have in their possession papers of unascertained historical value. Several years ago, when a vacant warehouse belonging to Mr. Chouteau was cleaned out for occupancy, the owner learned that several barrels of old papers, which had been reposing there for years, had been carted off and sold for junk. Recognizing that they might possibly have some historical value, he started out to recover them, if possible. They were traced to the bin of a paper concern, where they had been dumped and intermingled with tons of waste paper. At his own expense, Mr. Chouteau hired some of the employes to sort out what they could find of the old papers. They spent several days at the task, with the permission of the employers, and recovered a large portion. The donor himself did not measure their importance, but wisely provided that they should go to the Historical Society, where they will be examined, classified and permanently safeguarded.

"Few persons are able to realize that more or less historical value attaches to all old letters, documents and family papers that have accumulated in garrets and old trunks. How many times we hear of people burning up 'such trash' when they clean house or move.

"Old correspondence, diaries, account books, pamphlets, legal documents and other evidences of bygone days can have no present value to private persons equal to that which they would have to historians. Much is yet to be learned and recorded of not only the early French days of St. Louis, but also the succeeding decades of the last century, covering the pioneer business life, the troublesome Civil War period and the post-bellum development of the city.

Let citizens and the city profit by Mr. Chouteau's experience."

NAMING THE PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILDINGS.—Up to a recent date, the naming of the public school buildings in St. Louis seems to have been largely a matter of opportunism. No system seems to have been followed or considered. If the death of some notable person occurred about the time a school was to be named, that was reason enough why it should be named for such person. An examination of the list of names will show that politics, religion and foreign nationality have all had their influence in determining the choice. In later years a different spirit has developed. It has been realized that Missouri names are not wholly inappropriate for Missouri schools for Missouri children. No better choice of names could be made than those of William Clark, Edward Hempstead and Rose Fanning. There is another name that should by no means be overlooked. The first schoolmaster to exercise his calling in St. Louis was Jean Baptiste Trudeau. He was born in Canada in 1748, came here in 1774, and died probably at Ste. Genevieve about 1824. He taught school in St. Louis for about fifty years. He appears in the first Directory, his school being then (1821) on the south side of Pine Street, between Main and Second streets. In 1795 he made a voyage up the Missouri in the employ of "*la Compagnie du haut du Missouris,*" of which voyage he wrote a very interesting account, a portion of which is preserved in the office of the Secretary of State at Washington. A transcript of this is in the library of the Missouri Historical Society. He was also a writer of verse and judging from the

sample which has remained to us (the "*Chanson du Coup*"), his verse was not so bad.

His ability and faithfulness as a teacher was testified to by his kinsman, Governor Trudeau, in a paper which is of record in the St. Louis archives. That he was a man of good character appears in many ways. For many years he was one of *las personas notables* who were annually called together to elect a "mayor-domo" of the church of this parish. In this connection his name regularly appears along with that of the Governor, of Chouteau, Soulard, Sarpy and other leading men of the village. For many years he returned for taxation only the property which had been given to him by his kinsman, the Governor (assessed at $400.00). He died in poverty; the profession to which he had devoted his life having barely afforded him the means of subsistence. In naming a school building for Trudeau the School Board would honor itself more than him. And might we be permitted to suggest to the Board, in all humility, that it is worth considering whether it is necessary to go to Virginia, to New England or to Germany for a name, while that of the illustrious Doniphan remains to be used? For the new high school, we beg to suggest that no name could be more appropriate or meet with greater favor with the people than that of the founder of the city—Laclede.

"DONIPHAN'S EXPEDITION, *and the Conquest of New Mexico and California*," by William Elsey Connelley. (Reprint of Hughes' work, 1847.) Topeka, Kansas. Published by the author, 1907.

The romantic story of Doniphan's Expedition, one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Mexican War, graphically told by several contemporaneous writers but by none better than by John T. Hughes, a participant, deserves to be kept ever fresh in the memory of the American people. Whether because the Mexican War left a bad taste in the mouths of our people or was simply overshadowed by the more important events of the Civil War, the fact remains

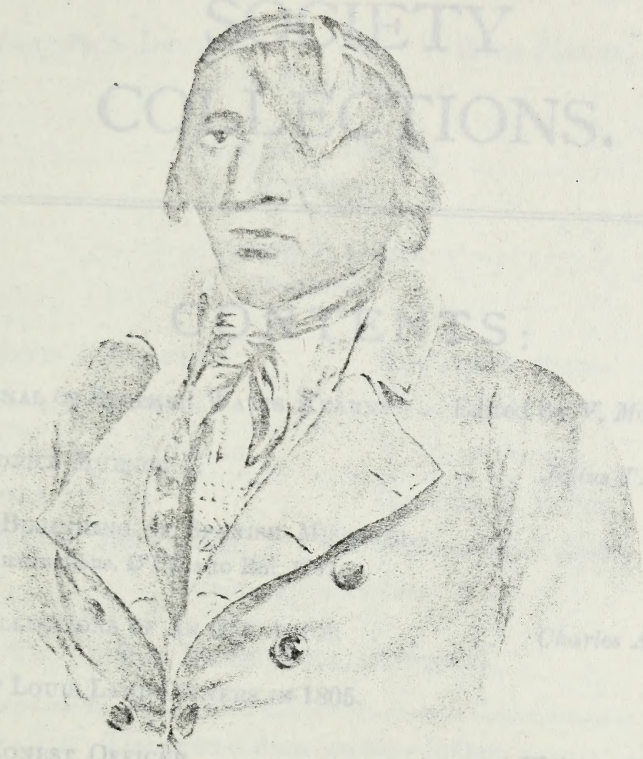
that it is recalled with less vividness than any of our other conflicts. Sixty years have passed since Hughes' picturesque story was first given to the public in a little book published by the Jameses of Cincinnati. For rescuing the half-forgotten work and putting it forth again in new dress, with annotations and appended matter, thereby calling the attention of the present generation to this unparalleled military adventure, thanks are due to William E. Connelley of Topeka, Kansas. He has reprinted the work under the original title, "Doniphan's Expedition." Had he generously given the author a little more credit on the cover and the title page of the reprint, and modestly contented himself with the ample editorial honors that are his, he would not be open to the charge of having shown not the best taste. Much can be forgiven him on this account, however, in return for having dug up and presented the hitherto unprinted diary kept by Hughes during the campaign. This and the sketch of Hughes' life constitute the most valuable new matter joined with the reprint. Hughes' contribution to the military history of the Southwest was so valuable that it is gratifying to learn somewhat more of his personality than may be gained from reading the original text, in which one finds scarcely any reference to himself, and it appears from Doniphan's own tribute, following Hughes' heroic death on a battlefield of the Civil War, that there was no member of the expedition more gallant or more daring than Hughes, the historian. We are delighted to find that he was the first to volunteer for hazardous missions, and are thrilled to hear that he killed a noted Indian chief, the head of a desparate band, in personal conflict in an open field. His record in the Civil War, as colonel of the First Missouri Infantry (Confederate), is equally moving. The editor tells us that prior to the War "Hughes was outspoken for the Union," that he canvassed northwest Missouri and published a newspaper in opposition to secession. The result of his efforts and others was to hold Missouri to the Union. Therefore when we are told in the same breath that he "believed in the justice of the cause of the state"

and went over to the South in the absence of clarifying information from the editor we are left rather in the dark as to the reason for his apparent inconsistency. Mr. Connelley has introduced ahead of the Hughes matter an apotheosis of the early Missourians, a sketch of Doniphan, by D. C. Allen, Esq., of Liberty, Mo., and (rather irrelevantly) a sketch of Sterling Price, all of them weakened by a tendency to hyperbolic praise. However great a man Doniphan may have been, and he undoubtedly had unusual claims to greatness, to call him "one of the greatest American lawyers" is possibly drawing the long bow. Gifted with rare eloquence, he became successful as an advocate in jury trials, but his one great claim to everlasting distinction was the conduct of a military expedition outrivaling that of Xenophon.

The official rosters of the troops under Doniphan, following the reprint text, should prove a useful and convenient reference. In the appendices are a few additional biographical sketches of participants, a reprinted interview with Doniphan and other matter more or less related to the work. Ardent, painstaking labor on the part of the editor is manifest, and in spite of minor scientific faults the work is an acceptable supplement to the history of the Mexican War. Popularly it should, if pushed, find many readers.

Houck's History of Missouri.—We are informed that this book may be expected to issue from the press in the course of the next few weeks. The writing of this history has been a labor of love to which Mr. Houck has, for the last twenty years, given the spare moments of an unusually active and busy life. For materials he has ransacked the archives of every country known to possess anything bearing upon early Missouri.

For excellence in its execution, as well as for its intrinsic interest, the work will easily hold the front rank among state histories. Since it reaches only to the admission of Missouri to the Union, it is greatly to be hoped that Mr. Houck will supplement it with a volume giving an account of the people and events of his own time.



WABASHA II.
Sioux Chief.

VOLUME III. APRIL, 1908. NUMBER 2

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

CONTENTS:

JOURNAL OF STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY . Edited by *V. Mott Porter.*

FRIEDRICH MUENCH . . . . . *Julius T. Muench.*

THE BEGINNING OF SPANISH MISSOURI.
Instructions, D'Ulloa to Rui, 1767.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR . . . . *Charles A. Krone.*

SAINT LOUIS LAND OWNERS IN 1805.

AN HONEST OFFICER . . . . . *William G. Pettus.*

NOTES: The Future of the Quarterly—Acknowledgements—The Building Fund—The Late Charles Aldrich—The Beginning of Jefferson Barracks—Ramsay Crooks—More about Spanish Missouri—The July Quarterly.

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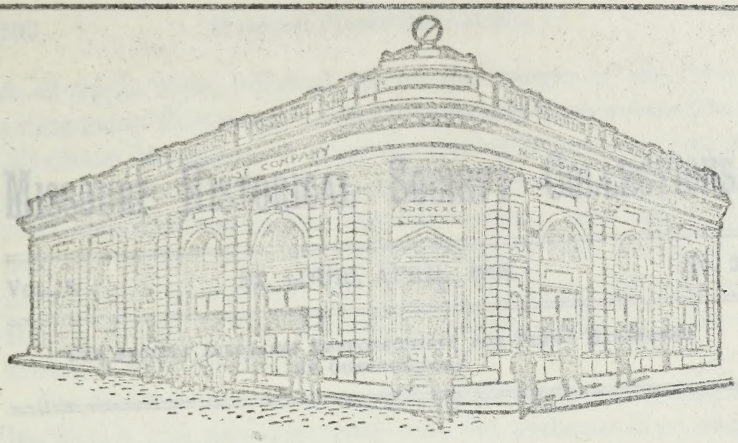

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JOURNAL OF STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY.

EDITED BY VALENTINE MOTT PORTER.

PART I (*Concluded*).

THE COUNCIL BLUFF—ST. PETER'S EXPLORATION (1820).

AN INCIDENT OF THE YELLOWSTONE EXPEDITION.

[NOTE.—This was the first overland crossing by white persons between the upper Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. The purpose of the exploration was to try to discover a practicable overland route for the passage of United States troops between the newly established military post on the Missouri, first known as "Camp Missouri" and later as "Fort Atkinson," near the present city of Omaha, and the new cantonment, known as "Camp Cold Water," the precursor of Fort Snelling, Minnesota. The explorers had hoped to strike the St. Peter's River and descend it to the mouth, their destination, but had lost their way, going too far to the south, with the result that they came unexpectedly upon the Mississippi. A map of their route was given in the last number. The narrative is now resumed, on the morning after their arrival on the bank of the river, and describes the completion of their journey to the mouth of the St. Peter's (now Minnesota) River, a visit to the Falls of St. Anthony, and closes with an account of their voyage down the Mississippi, on the return journey, as far as St. Louis].

July 22d [*1820*].

At day break all the Indians, excepting one whom we retained as Guide, left us for their village; we followed at 7 A.M., crossed a small stream at its mouth, being about 5 feet deep

& 12 yards wide; followed up, on the margin of the river, seeing many Pheasants, the first I have seen since crossing the Alleghany Mountains, & great number of Pigeons, several of which we shot—crossed a high hill, & leaving sight of the river, struck into some beautiful little vallies, thro' which we held our course, (new objects & interesting ones continually presenting themselves) till we, at sundown, reached an Indian village on the Mississippi, having made 15 miles—during a very hot day.

For the first time since our leaving C. Bluff, our Indian & his squaw this day quarreled—she has hitherto been very politely treated by him & as much so as the Ladies in our most polished societies receive from their husbands. This day our party being increased by our new Indian Guide, the other is ashamed to continue his kindness, in as much as the Indians consider nothing more disgraceful than to wait upon their squaws, but on the contrary make the latter their servants & perform all the most menial duties.

The village we reached this evening has been established about 10 years since by *Tauton Gomony* (Red Wing)[33] a chief

[33] Red Wing, a distinguished Sioux chieftain, was born about the middle of the eighteenth century and lived till about 1825 or '30. His name has been commemorated by the present town of Redwing, Minn., the site of his old village. He was an early example of the self-made American. Not born in a chief's family, he rose from the warrior ranks by sheer force of character to be second in importance only to Wabasha, the most influential chief of the Sioux Nation. "Tauton Gominy," the Indian name given him by Kearny, we can not be sure about, either in its rendering or application. Pike gave it both as "Talangamane" and "Tantangamini," with the French and English equivalents, "L'Aile Rouge" and "Red Wing." (Coues' Pike, i. pp. 342 and 347.) Dr. Foster called him "Tahtawkahmahnee," but translated it as "Le boeuf que [qui] marche" or "The Walking Buffalo." He said he was *also known* as "The Red Wing." (*ibid.*, p. 88.) Beltrami gave the name "Tantangamini," most nearly like Kearny, but seems to have assumed it meant Red Wing. (Beltrami's *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America* (1823), ii, p. 188.) Schoolcraft (1820) speaks of him as "Tarangamani," or Red Wing. (Phila. ed. 1855, p. 163.) Keating, the chronicler of Long's Expedition, makes the name "Tatunkamane" (meaning, he says, "The Walking Buffalo"), but states that it belonged not to the chief but to the chief's son. The chief's own Indian name, he says was "Shakea" ("the man that paints himself red")

& of the *Gens De Lac*, a Tribe of the Sioux; he is about 70 years old & has been much distinguished for his military talents & prowess, as well as his friendship & attachment to the Americans; on our arriving near his village, we were on the point of encamping about 200 yards from it; he invited

and his village bore the name Red Wing, "by which the chief was formerly known." (Keating's *Long's Expedition*, i, p. 260.) Catlin, the Indian painter, who came along ten years later, after the death of the old chief, met his son, whom he calls "Tah-tón-ga-mó-nee, Red Wing's son." (*The George Catlin Indian Gallery:* Donaldson, p. 58.) Whatever may have been the proper Indian name of the chief, he will always be known in history as "Red Wing." He had an active fighting career as the head of an important tribe of the Sioux, called the "Menowa Kantong," translated by Pike as "Gens du Lac," or "the people of the lake." Like his confrère Red Hawk, of the Sisseton tribe, he assisted the British in the War of 1812. These two chiefs and another one known as "The Sixth," with a large party of Sioux, all under the war chief Wabasha, were in the attack on Ft. Sandusky in 1813 (see *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, iii, p. 19, n. 25.) Red Wing presumably was present also in the battle on Mackinac Island, in which the American commander, Major Holmes, was killed, for following that affair he came down with a party of 200 Sioux and the Mackinac militia (British) to help in the assault of the post at Prairie du Chien. ("Grignon's Recollections," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 271.) Captain Anderson, a trader who commanded one of the Mackinac militia companies, said Red Wing was "famed for telling events." Judged by his subsequent course, this talent seems to have been ordinary foresight coupled with discretion. After the last-named fight he decided to quit and retire to private life, because, it would seem, of a vision he had that the British would soon be driven away, leaving the Indians to fight it out alone or make peace with the Americans. He gave back the Royal George medal, presented to him by the British, explaining, when pressed, "You tell me the lion on this medal is the most powerful of all animals. I have never seen one, but I believe what you say. This lion * * * sleeps all day, but the eagle, who is the most powerful of birds, sleeps only at night. In the day time he flies about everywhere and sees all on the ground. He will light on a tree over the lion, and they will scold each other for a while, but they will finally make up and be friends, and smoke the pipe of peace. The lion will then go home and leave us Indians to our foes. That is the reason for not taking up my war club. Your enemies will believe me when I speak good words to them." ("Personal Narrative of Thomas A. Anderson," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, p. 197.) He had already shared in more actions than almost any other Indian, and yet had the reputation of never having been defeated. (Keating's Long, *supra*) Doty, who visited him in 1820, found him possessed of a marked sense of justice, and gives an instance of his great moderation. ("Papers of James Duane Doty," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 218.) In 1823 Keating found him

us nearer when some excuse was offered for our declining, on which occasion he was much chagrined & mortified, & expressing it to us & adding that no American had ever before shunned him, we accepted his invitation, & encamped near his *Wig Wams;* after which the officers were invited by him to a Feast & seating ourselves alongside of him, his squaw handed each of us a bason of venison, boiled up with parched corn which we found exceedingly palatable. Whilst eating, the chief, by means of our old Guide, (who speaks French as well as the Sioux language) he told us that what was placed before us was ours, & that he did not wish any returned to him; our share having been much more than we could possibly digest, we sent our leavings to the soldiers; we then returned to our camp, & were followed shortly after by him, accompanied by his squaw, bringing Fish & a deer head. We gave him whiskey & tea & making him a present of some tobacco, he retired, & we went to rest.

July 23rd, Sunday.

During last night we experienced a very severe storm of rain, Thunder & Lightning, accompanied by a heavy gale of wind, & the weather, during the morning, continuing unfavorable, we remained til 2 P.M., previous to which we took our dinner & had as a guest the Indian chief, whom we treated with pork & biscuit; a Boat with some Frenchmen from Lord Selkirk's establishment,[34] on the Red River, like-

much superannuated but still highly respected on account of his former distinguished achievements. He was then about 70 years old, "of hideous aspect, bent under the weight of years and atrocities," says Beltrami, in the same year, "but still, the scars with which his naked body was covered, the dignity with which he wore his buffalo skin, hung on his shoulders like the *glamis* of the Romans," his war club in hand and quiver on his back, gave him "more éclat and majesty than a king." He was so much feared by his people that even in old age he was treated with extraordinary deference. (Beltrami, ii, p. 188.) His granddaughter married Colonel Crawford, a man of commercial activity about Prairie du Chien and Michilimackinac during the War of 1812, who has left descendants in the lake country. (Schoolcraft, *supra.*)

[34] Lord Selkirk's Establishment. The Earl of Selkirk, a wealthy,

wise arrived at this time. Leaving the Mississippi, to avoid its banks, we proceeded to Cannon River, about 30 yds wide, 3 feet deep, & crossing which, encamped on its banks, having made 6 miles. During our march this afternoon it rained harder than I had ever before known & we had much Thunder & Lightning the latter, at one time, we discerned for a few seconds very near & setting a cluster of Trees, as it were, on fire.

At sundown our new Indian was sent back to his village, with some Tobacco, to trade for provisions (our men having eaten so voraciously as to exhaust our late supplies) he returned at 10 P. M., bringing a Fish, & a few quarts of dryed wild Potatoes.

July 24th.

During last night we were very much annoyed by the buz-

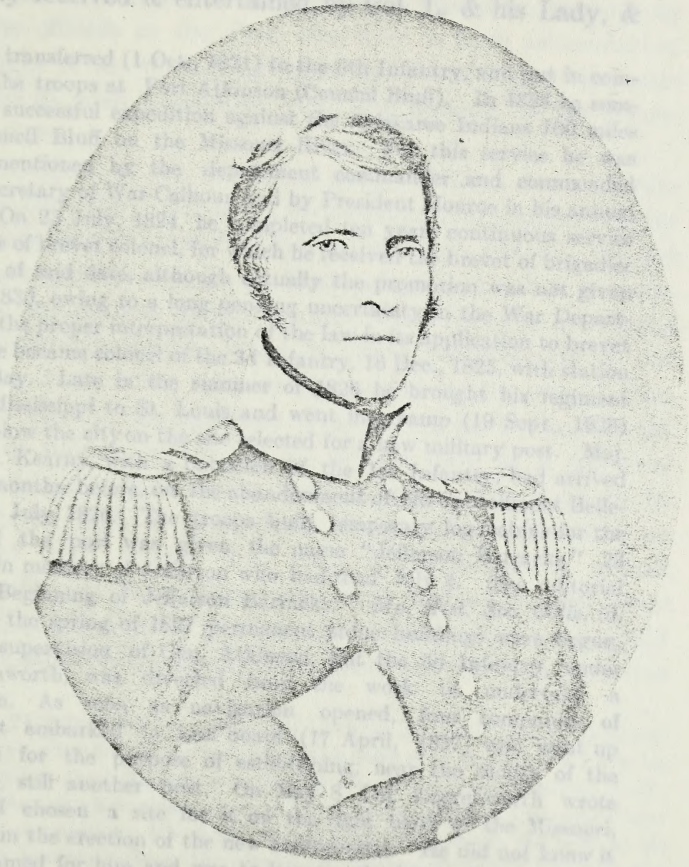
kind-hearted but visionary Scotchman, had obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1811 a grant of land in the Red River Valley, between Lake Winnipeg and the United States boundary, and wrote some tracts urging the importance of colonizing British emigrants in this distant region and thus checking the disposition to settle in the United States. The first lot of the colonists, about fifty Scotchmen, arrived in the following year. All might have gone well enough with them but for the fact that the agents of the North West Company looked upon the move as a scheme of encroachment on the part of their rival, the Hudson's Bay Company. In the disgraceful strife waged between the two powerful companies the Selkirk colonists became the chief sufferers. Persecuted to distraction by the North West people, their lot became a hard one. The story of their sufferings is one of the most heartrending in the history of this Northern region. In 1819 their crops having been destroyed by grasshoppers, they sent to Prairie du Chien in the following spring for seed. Three Mackinac boats laden with wheat, oats and peas went to their relief, pursuant to a business agreement entered into with contractors at that trading post. This was the first consignment of freight from Prairie du Chien to the Red River Settlement, a noteworthy fact. The boatmen returned across the plains on foot and from Big Stone Lake by canoe. It was some of these men, probably, that Kearny saw, as they would have been just about returning at this time. For further facts about Lord Selkirk's colony, see Chittenden's *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, i, p. 91; Neill's *History of Minnesota*, pp. 301-20, and "Reminiscences: Historical and Personal," by H. H. Sibley, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 470.

zing & stinging of the mosquitoes, so much so as to prevent several of us from sleeping—proceeded at 5 A.M., crossed over some handsome Prairies, & thro' beautiful vallies. Forded a stream of clear water, 10 yards wide, 2 feet deep & filling our kegs proceeded 20 miles to breakfast; obtaining which & our provisions being again out, we started & passing over gentle hills & handsome small Prairies we reached a Lake & after taking a drink, proceeded to a second, covering about an acre of ground, & having made 30 miles, halted for the night.

July 25th.

Started at 6 A. M. passing over a few gentle hills & some Prairie, reached the Fort, at the mouth of St. Peters on the Mississippi, not having seen the latter river since our leaving the Indian village, our course having been about *N.W.* At this place we obtained a very comfortable breakfast, & after which meeting with Col. Leavenworth, [35] we dispatched our soldiers

[35] HENRY LEAVENWORTH was born 10 Dec., 1783, at New Haven, Conn. In early childhood he removed to Danville, Vt. He studied law at Delhi, N. Y., under Gen. Erastus Root and practiced with him 1804-12. At the outbreak of the war with England he raised a company in Delaware County, which was taken into the 25th U. S. Infantry Regiment, with himself as captain, 25 April, 1812. He was promoted to major in the 9th Infantry, 15 Aug., 1813; brevetted lieutenant-colonel, 5 July, 1814, for distinguished service at the battle of Chippewa, Upper Canada, and brevetted colonel twenty days later for valiant conduct at Niagara Falls, where he was wounded. He was transferred to the 2d Infantry, 17 May, 1815. After the war he obtained a leave of absence, and in the following year became a member of the Legislature in the State of New York. In 1817 he was made Indian Agent for the Northwest Territory, with headquarters at Prairie du Chien. His wife and daughter are said to have been the first white women to travel through the wilderness to this remote station. He was promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the 5th Infantry, 10 Feb., 1818. In the following summer he set out from Prairie du Chien with the advance guard of the Mississippi River expedition to establish a military post near the head of navigation. The outfit consisted of 98 soldiers, 20 boatmen, with the requisite supplies, in 17 batteaux and other craft. They arrived 14 Aug., 1819, at the mouth of the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River, and forthwith threw up the cantonment which later became Fort Snelling (*see note* 6). Before the permanent buildings were completed Leaven-



H. Leavenworth

with the horses and mules by land (having previously swam the latter over the St. Peters,) & accompanied him in his boat to his new cantonment, 1½ miles from the old one, having made today 5 miles. We were here most kindly & hospitably received & entertained by Col. L. & his Lady, &

worth was transferred (1 Oct., 1821) to the 6th Infantry, and put in command of the troops at Fort Atkinson (Council Bluff). In 1823 he commanded a successful expedition against the Arickaree Indians 700 miles above Council Bluff on the Missouri River. For this service he was specially mentioned by the department commander and commended both by Secretary of War Calhoun and by President Monroe in his annual message. On 25 July, 1824, he completed ten years continuous service in the grade of brevet colonel, for which he received the brevet of brigadier general, as of said date, although actually the promotion was not given him until 1830, owing to a long pending uncertainty in the War Department as to the proper interpretation of the law in its application to brevet grades. He became colonel of the 3d Infantry, 16 Dec., 1825, with station at Green Bay. Late in the summer of 1826 he brought his regiment down the Mississippi to St. Louis and went into camp (19 Sept., 1826) ten miles below the city on the site selected for a new military post. Maj. Stephen W. Kearny, with a battalion of the 1st Infantry, had arrived there two months before, on the abandonment of old Cantonment Bellefontaine, 10 July, 1826. The troops built temporary log cabins for the winter, and the post was given the name "Jefferson Barracks," 23 Oct., 1826, in memory of Jefferson who had died July 4. (See editorial note " The Beginning of Jefferson Barracks." *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls*, iii, No. 2.) In the spring of 1827 permanent stone buildings were begun, under the supervision of Gen. Atkinson, but the 3d Infantry, under Col. Leavenworth, was diverted from the work to undertake a new mission. As soon as navigation opened, four companies of the regiment embarked in keel boats (17 April, 1827) and went up the Missouri for the purpose of establishing, near the mouth of the Little Platte, still another post. On May 8, Col. Leavenworth wrote that he had chosen a site for it on the right bank of the Missouri, and had begun the erection of the new cantonment. He did not know it was to be named for him and was to become the largest and most important of all our army posts. The city of Leavenworth, Kansas, grew up near the post and further commemorates his name. The honor of having so large a part in the establishment of three prominent military posts probably fell to no other officer before or since. In 1829 Leavenworth and his troops returned to Cantonment Jefferson, near St. Louis, where he became post commander. The command of the whole southwestern frontier was given to him in 1834, in which year he took charge of an expedition against hostile Pawnee and Comanche Indians. Out of this enterprise was secured, without a single collision, a permanent treaty of peace. While engaged on this duty he contracted a fever from which

being in the enjoyment of their society, & the hearty welcome & good comforts of their table, imagined ourselves repaid for the hardships we had endured, the difficulties we had met with, & the obstacles we had overcome during our journey from the C. Bluffs—we were likewise cordially received by all the officers at the Post, who were a little astonished at the sight of us, we having been the First Whites that ever crossed at such a distance from the Missouri to the Mississippi river.

The object of the exploring party which I have accompanied from the *C. B.*[36] being to discover a practicable route for traveling between that Post & this (on the St. Peters), the one we have come is not, in the least, adapted for that purpose.

Our circuitous & wavering route (which is to be attributed to the Guide's advice, being in direct contradiction to our opinion, & we being occasionally guided by the one, & then by the other); the immense Prairies we have crossed; the want of timber, which we for several days at a time experienced; the little water that in some parts were to be found; the high & precipitous Mountains & hills that we climbed over, render that road impracticable & almost impassable, for more than very small bodies. A very great portion of the country in the neighborhood of our route could be of no other object (at any time) to our gov't in the acquisition

he died, 21 July, 1834, at a place called Cross Timbers, Indian Territory. Four days after his death, but before the news of it reached the East, his promotion to the full grade of brigadier general was announced at Washington, the ten years since the date of his brevet rank in that grade having been completed. His death caused profound sorrow, not only in his regiment but throughout the army. A monument to his memory was erected by his regiment, the 3d Infantry. His remains were taken East, but many years later (1902) were brought to Fort Leavenworth and there interred with befitting ceremony. In the truest sense Gen. Leavenworth was a pioneer of the West. The better part of his life was spent on the frontier in the arduous service of helping to prepare a vast domain for settlement and civilization. (Heitman's *Hist. Reg. and Dict. of the U. S. Army*, i, p. 622; Lamb's *Biog. Dict. of the U. S.*, v, p. 3; Forsyth's Journal, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 205; *Kan. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 577, and sketch by Maj. G. B. Davis, in the *Journal of the U. S. Cavalry. Ass'n*, viii, p. 261.)

[36] Council Bluffs.

of it, than the expulsion of the savages from it, & the driving them nearer to the *N.West*, & the Pacific for the disadvantages (as above) will forever prevent its supporting more than a thinly scattered population. The soil generally we found good, but bears no comparison to that I saw between *Chariton &C.B.*

July 26th.

Crossed over to the opposite shore of the Miss. into the *North West* Territory, where I found the bank about 60 feet high; Two thirds of which is (if it may be so denominated) a regular strata of sand, having two or three inches of the exterior hard like stone, but breaking which came to a beautiful white & fine sand; the other third is Limestone, with a considerable mixture of the above sand.

Col. Leavenworth, being a magistrate and authorized to exercise the functions appertaining thereto in the *N.W. Ter'y*,[37] he accompanied a Lieut Green & a Miss Gooding across the river, & there married them, after which they returned, & I paid my respects to the Bride & Groom.[38]

[37] The "Northwest Territory," it will be remembered, embraced the region *east* of the Mississippi. Col. Leavenworth's authority as magistrate was probably derived from his office of Indian Agent of the Territory (*see note* 35.)

[38] Probably the first marriage of white persons living in Minnesota. The bridegroom, Platt R. Green, was the regimental adjutant. He was born in New York State; entered the army 31 May, 1814, as ensign in the 21st Infantry; promoted to 2d lieutenant, 1 Oct., 1814; transferred to 5th Infantry, 17 May, 1815; regimental adjutant from 4 June, 1819, to 1 Sept., 1821; promoted to 1st lieutenant, 27 May, 1820; died 30 June, 1828. (Heitman.) The bride was the daughter of Capt. and Mrs. George Gooding, of the 5th Infantry, who were stationed at the post and were among the first arrivals there. Mrs. Gooding is said to have been the first lady to visit the Falls of St. Anthony. (Forsyth's Journal, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii-iii, p. 155.) Capt. Gooding left the army in 1821 and became sutler at Prairie du Chien, continuing as such till 1827. After his death his widow married John W. Johnson (*see note* 56), of Prairie du Chien, and later lived in St. Louis. (*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 442.) Lieutenant Green and his wife remained at the post several years. Their little son died and was buried there. ("Reminiscences of Mrs. Ann Adams," *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, vi, part 2, p. 95.)

July 27th.

After breakfast, in company with Col. Morgan & Leavenworth, Lieut. Pentland & Talcot, I left camp, to visit the surrounding country; passed up in a *N. W.* direction over rich Prairies, & soon reached the "Falls of St. Anthony."

In viewing these Falls, I must confess they did not strike me with that majestic & grand appearance I had been induced to expect from their description by former travellers—They are, however, very beautiful & probably on account of having frequently seen the immense Falls of Niagara & the high pitch I had wrought myself up to, of witnessing in the savage country a body of water (at a particular point) held in veneration by the neighboring Tribes of Indians, & to which many of them at this day offer their tribute, may account for my disappointment.

The view, as presented to me from the *W.* shore, & a short distance below the Fall, was nearly thus:

About 30 yards from the *E.* shore, & as many below the falls, commences an Island, which runs up a quarter of a mile, probably 20 yards wide, covered with timber which prevented a view of the Falls beyond—Between that island & the *W.* shore the water appears to flow over the Falls in 28 separate or detached bodies; the edge or extremity circuitous, & having many angles, tho' quite regular. The pitch or Fall of water is 16 feet, tho' immediately & for some hundred yards below, the water dashes, with the rapidity of Lightning, over large Limestone Rocks, which have been worn away from the main body at the Fall—above & below these Falls are many rapids, which assist to divers[if]y the scene & render it more terrific. a small Island near the *W.* shore, a few yards below the Fall, separates the body of water & helps to increase its rapidity, by giving to it a smaller channel. The width of the river above the Falls may be about 600 & the banks from that point, approaching each other, leave it not more below than 200 yards.

The roaring of the water may be heard for a considerable

distance, say 10 or 12 miles, tho' the spray did not extend as far as one might have reason to expect it would—

One of the above bodies, being the most prominent, not only as to situation but to attract attention, is about 30 feet long & has very much the appearance of a large wheel turning round with great rapidity

The Falls are 9 by water & 7 miles by Land above the mouth of the St. Peters river.

The Indians consider these Falls as a Great Spirit, & when passing make presents & pay their adoration to them— Some give tobacco; some, whiskey, & all, what they themselves are most fond of—a Drum and sticks were once thrown in & the present accompanied by the remark that as the Great Spirit appeared to be fond of noise, the Drum was offered that he might beat upon it & make as much as he thought proper.

The distance of the Falls of St. Anthony from the mouth of St. Peters river is the same as those of Niagara from the Town of Queenston, & 'tis generally supposed the latter Falls once were at the latter place; The Banks, rocks, &c., &c., at the St. Peters, have as much appearance of a large Fall having been at that place, as those of Queenston have; and why is it not as probable?

I have mentioned the above as a curiosity, leaving it for others to investigate the history of the Falls, I merely vouching for the correctness of the appearance of them.

From the Falls, our party proceded to a beautiful Lake & after firing at some geese left it, & passing by a handsome grove of Tamaracks, (a tall & very straight tree) reached another, where we passed 3 or 4 hours in fishing, & with great success. Returned to camp at sun down.

Lieut. T. took an observation, & found our camp (a mile from the St. Peters) in Lat. 44° 54′ N.

July 28th.

Day clear & pleasant, visited a point of Land at the mouth of the St. Peters river,—where 'tis contemplated building permanent barracks & a fortification—The point is com-

distance, say 10 or 12 miles, tho' the spray did not extend as far as one might have reason to expect it would—

One of the above bodies, being the most prominent, not only as to situation but to attract attention, is about 30 feet long & has very much the appearance of a large wheel turning round with great rapidity

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July 28th.

Day clear & pleasant, visited a point of Land at the mouth of the St. Peters river,—where 'tis contemplated building permanent barracks & a fortification—The point is com-

manded by several high hills in its neighborhood, and all of which it would be impossible to fortify.

July 29th.

Started at 9 A.M. to descend the Mississippi—at the confluence of the Miss. & St. Peters rivers is an Island, of about 100 acres, & the waters of both rivers flow on either side, as the tide or water of either may be the highest—The former is at that point 130 yards & the latter 80, wide—Descended the river 4 miles, when we put to at a ravine & walking up which for 200 yards, reached a Cave,[39] being at the mouth 20 feet wide & 10 high; handsomely arched & the roof & floor, being of a beautiful white sand, resembling the finest muscovado[40] sugar—Taking a candle, I commenced entering it, in company with 3 or 4 of our boat's party—we penetrated about 400 yards, frequently oblidged to crawl on our hands and feet, it being so low & then on account of its narrow passage, sidling along & supporting ourselves (having no foot hold) with our backs & hands—at 100 yards from the entrance we passed thro' a room, of about 15 feet square As far as we penetrated we found a rapid stream of water (cold as ice & in which we could not remain for any length of time) occasionally two yards wide, & then narrowing to a foot; In some places it was so deep that we could not touch bottom,

[39] This cave is evidently the same one visited by Capt. Carver in 1767. He wrote: "About thirty miles below the Falls of St. Anthony * * * is a remarkable cave of an amazing depth. The Indians term it Wakonteebe, that is, the Dwelling of the Great Spirit. The entrance to it is about ten feet wide, the height of it five feet. The arch within is near fifteen feet high, and about thirty-five broad. *The bottom of it consists of fine clear sand.* About twenty-five feet from the entrance begins a lake, the water of which is transparent and extends to an unsearchable distance. * * * I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphics, which appeared very ancient. * * * The cave is only accessible by ascending a narrow, steep passage that lies near the brim of the river. At a little distance from this drary (*sic*) cavern is a burying place of several bands of the Naudowessie Indians." (Carver's *Travels*, Boston ed. [1797], p. 39. The cave was also visited by Pike, in 1807. See Coues' *Pike's Expedition*, p. 198 *et seq.*) Naudowessie was the ancient term applied to the Sioux Indians.

[40] *Muscavado*—unrefined sugar.

tho' generally it was not more than 2 foot—The stones we found at the bottom had a mixture of iron in them. The air was quite cold, & the farther we advanced, the more plainly could we hear the roaring of the waters from within, like distant Thunder.

The [illegible] in the [illegible] to proceed [illegible] as little [illegible] possible, we [illegible], not [illegible] our curiosity gratified, as we [illegible] to penetrate [illegible] stopped by difficulties we [illegible] overcome.

Four miles below, [illegible] village of Sioux of 11 lodges, at the [illegible] & a short distance below a high ridge [illegible] where we stopped a few minutes to [illegible] further, brought us to the [illegible] having Tobacco quills &c., &c., [illegible] Humane conceding a Great Spirit, [illegible] strike presents.

In [illegible] at some places cannot [illegible] more than [illegible] The [illegible] shore is generally bounded by [illegible] low lands, well

LITTLE CROW'S VILLAGE.
(From an old print.)

tho' generally it was not more than 2 foot—The stones we found at the bottom had a mixture of iron in them. The air was quite cold, & the farther we advanced, the more plainly could we hear the roaring of the waters from within, like distant Thunder.

The passengers in the boat, being desirous to proceed with as little delay as possible, we returned to it, not however with our curiosity gratified, as we had wished to penetrate 'till stopped by difficulties we could not overcome.

Four miles below, reached *Le Petit Corbeau's*[41] village of Sioux of 11 lodges, at the head of an Island, & a short distance below a high ridge of Limestone Rock, where we stopped a few minutes to trade for corn; Five miles further brought us to the "Painted Rock," on the *East* shore, having Tobacco, quills &c., &c., scattered round; which the Indians consider a Great Spirit, & to which they, when passing, make presents.

In descending the river grows narrower, & at some places cannot be more than 200 yards wide— —The *E.* shore is generally bounded by high banks, the *W.* with low lands, well

[41] Le Petit Corbeau ("Little Crow"), hereditary chief of the Kapoja band. The name was borne by successive individuals through several generations. This chief was in the council of Sioux that treated with Pike in 1805 for the sale of the land at the mouth of the St. Peter's as a site for the fort. (Coues' *Pike's Expedition*, pp. 82-84.) He was in the War of 1812, serving with the other Sioux chiefs already mentioned, at the attack on Fort Sandusky. ("Grignon's Recollections," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 269-70.) Major Forsyth, who accompanied Leavenworth on the trip up the Mississippi in 1819 to found the post at the mouth of the St. Peter's, in a letter to Gov. Clark mentions visiting Little Crow's village "at a place called the Grand Marie, being 23 leagues above the Red Wing's village, and within five leagues of the mouth of the St. Peter's River. Here I found in the Little Crow a steady, generous and independent Indian; he acknowledged the sale of the land at the mouth of the St. Peter's River to the United States, and said he had been looking every year since the sale for the troops to build a fort, and was now happy to see us all, as the Sioux would now have their Father with them." (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 217.) Little Crow made a visit to Washington in 1824. References to him may be found in "Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling," *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 27; Neill's *History of Minnesota*, pp. 292 and 326; Forsyth's Journal, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 205 *et seq.*, "Documents Relating to the Carver Grant," *ibid.*, p. 252 *et seq.*; and Keating's *Long's Expedition*, p. 283 *et seq.*

timbered—Reached the St. Croix river about dusk, 100 yards wide, flowing in on the *E. side* & being about the width of the Mississippi, at the junction, & its course not varying much, it has frequently been by strangers mistaken for that river, & ascended some distance, 'ere the error was detected—dropped anchor in the middle of the stream, a few yards below, for the night.

July 30th, Sunday.

Weighed anchor at 4 A.M. at which time there was a thick fog on the river, but which was dispersed at 7— Passed "*Red Wing*" (he who had treated us so politely at his village on the 22nd inst) ascending the river in a canoe with his squaw, who immediately recognized me, made them some presents, & proceding passed, at 10 A.M., the mouth of the Cannon river, 25 yards wide, & soon reached the Indian village where we were oversaken by "Red Wing" & halting the boat, we accompanied him to his lodge, & remained a few minutes— Reached "Lake Pepin" (an expansion of the Mississippi, & from 1 to 3 miles wide) at noon. This Lake is considered (on account of having no harbors, & the water easily disturbed by winds) very dangerous to navigate; & but few Boatmen, should there be the least wind, would consent to undertake to cross it: The weather being clear and calm, we apprehended no difficulty— Passed a point of Rocks[42] on the *E.* shore 200 feet above the surface of the water, from which, (as 'tis reported) a squaw[43] being attached to one Indian & betrothed by her parents to another, in a fit of despair took "the lover's Leap," and thus fell a sacrifice to a feeling of sentiment very rarely to be found amongst

[42] "Maiden's Rock" is the name by which this point was known. A picture of it engraved by Seymour appears in Keating's *Long's Expedition*, i, at p. 84, and a much better one in Mrs. Mary Eastman's *Dahcotah: or Life and Legends of the Sioux Around Fort Snelling.* (N. Y., 1849), p. 165.

[43] Winona, which signifies "the first born daughter," is supposed to have been the name of the "squaw" referred to by Kearny. Tradition, of course, describes her as "a beauteous young Indian maiden." Her story is told at length by Keating, i, p. 280.

savages. Below this our boat stopped for a short time & several curious specimens of Copper, Flint, Iron & Carnelion were found. We here observed large branches of trees, of the size of a common man's body, much bent, & of a blackish color, & upon close examination found them to be covered with bugs or flies 1½ inches long with small bodies—shaking the branches, they recovered their green appearance & erect positions, these insects leaving them, which we found perfectly innocent & harmless Arrived at the lower end of the Lake (which is 22 miles long) at 11 P.M. where we anchored, in middle of the stream. In the lake we found no current, tho' elsewhere in the river the water generally runs from 1 to 3 nots per hour; which we find of great assistance, in as much as we have a boat of 30 Tons, & as yet having had but little wind to favor us, we are oblidged to depend upon our oarsmen 12 in number.

July 31st.

At 4 A.M., with a heavy fog, weighed anchor, passed Chippeway river on the *East* & The Great Encampment[44] on the *W* side; This takes its name from the circumstance of almost all the traders stopping here either in *as-* or *descending* the river, for the purpose of hunting, drying or airing their goods or baggage, or refitting & overhauling their boats; passed "Prairie Le Aisle,"[45] at the bottom of which we found "*Wabasha's*"[46]

[44] "Great [or Grand] Encampment." There is a dispute among historians as to whether or not the "fortifications" mentioned by Capt. Carver in his *Travels* (p. 54 of the London ed.), went by this name. Long's party decided against it. (Keating, i, pp. 276-78.) Kearny's version of the origin of the name is probably right.

[45] "Prairie Le Aisle," a meaningless phrase as it stands, and open to various renderings, as L'Aile, L'Ail, or L'Ile. Pike's text (1807), p. 12, has "L'aile." (See Coues' Pike, i, p. 54, *note* 57.)

[46] WABASHA was one of the principal Sioux chiefs, being considered the head of the seventeen bands of that tribe residing south of the St. Peter's River. (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 214.) The name was borne by three chiefs in successive generations, and is derived from "wapa" (a leaf) and "sha" (red), meaning "red leaf." The Indian name has been spelled in a variety of ways, but the one given was the most common. In French it was usually "La Feuille," and in English "The Leaf," each without the adjective. Wabasha I was famous during the Revolutionary War, and was

Indian village; of 10 lodges; stopped & visited him, he then came on board our boat, bringing with him an

regarded as the head of the Sioux Nation. Wabasha II, his son, is the one mentioned above, a chief equally great, who grew in credit and renown with years. He led the whole Sioux contingent in the War of 1812. His influence over the other chiefs probably gained for him this honor. And yet he professed not to be a warrior, believing that Indians could prosper only at peace with one another and with the whites. He seems to have been induced to join the fortunes of the British against his inclination. After the war the Indians were left in a wretched condition, and in consequence were much downcast. Gen. Cass preserved a touching speech of Wabasha's, made at Drummond's Island in 1815, when Col. McDowell, the British commander, offered him some presents. "My father," he said, "what is this I see before me? A few knives and blankets. Is this all you promised us at the beginning of the war? Where are those promises you made us at Michilimackinac, and sent to our villages on the Mississippi? You told us you would never let fall the hatchet until the Americans were driven beyond the mountains; that our British father would never make peace without consulting his red children. Has that come to pass? We never knew of this peace. We are now told it was made by our great father beyond the water, without the knowledge of his war-chiefs; that it is our duty to obey his orders. What is this to us? Will these paltry presents pay for the men we have lost? * * * Will they soothe the feelings of our friends? Will they make good your promises to us? For myself, I am an old man. I have lived long, and always found the means of supporting myself, and I can so still." (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 194, *note.*) Two years later he was visited at his village by Maj. Long, who says of him: "He is considered one of the most honest and honorable of any of the Indians, and endeavors to inculcate into the minds of his people the sentiments and principles adopted by himself." (Long's *Skiff Voyage* (1817), *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 7.) He was seen in 1820 by Gen. Henry Whiting, who describes him as a small man with a patch over one eye, who nevertheless impressed everyone with respect, and whose profile was said to resemble that of the illustrious Conde. "While with us at Prairie du Chien," says Whiting, "he never moved or was seen without his pipe-bearer. His people treated him with reverence. Unlike all other speakers in council, he spoke sitting, considering, it was said, that he was called upon to stand only in the presence of his great father at Washington, or his representative at St. Louis." (Coues' *Pike's Expedition*, p. 44.) It will be noticed above, in the text of the journal, that he seated himself before addressing Kearny's party. This was the year following the establishment of the military post at the mouth of the St. Peter's above Wabasha's village. From the speech we gather that he had not yet become accustomed to the idea of having the Americans on the river above him, although he himself had been a party to the cession of the land to the United States some years before. A few years later, however, he seems to have become reconciled, for Keating chronicles

Indian (a brother-in-law of Col. Dickson,[47] a celebrated British trader) who understood French, & by whom we were enabled to hold a conversation.

The question as to the number of his band having been inadvertently put to him, he immediately appeared to be somewhat excited, & rising, he took a glass of water (as if to prepare himself), then throwing his blanket over his left shoulder & arm, his right one remaining bare, he reseated himself, & commenced a speech which lasted for 5 minutes, displaying a great fluency of words & accompanied with the most easy & graceful gestures.—

The substance of "Wabasha's" speech, as interpreted, was "That he did not relish the idea of the Whites being on the river above him; That he wished them to remove; That he could not force them, but unless they did, he would complain to his "Great Father." This *W.* is a great & powerful chief, & for many years has been distinguished on this river.

Leaving his village, we continued to "La Montagne qui

(1823): "His disposition to the Americans has generally been a friendly one, and his course of policy is well spoken of." (Keating's *Long's Expedition*, i, p. 250.) "He was then about 50 years old," says Keating, "but appears older; his prominent features are good and indicative of great acuteness and of a prying disposition; his stature is low; he has long been one of the most influential of the Dacota [Sioux] Indians, more, perhaps, from his talents in the council than his achievements in the field. He is represented as being a wise and prudent man, a forcible and impressive orator." (*ibid.*) Beltrami, the imaginative Italian traveler, who idealized all the Indians he saw, said Wabasha's "appearance was that of a great statesman, wanting nothing to complete the resemblance but an embroidered coat, a large portfolio under his arm, and spectacles." (Beltrami's *Pilgrimage*, ii, p. 181.) Wabasha's village was on the site of the present Winona, Minn. For Wabasha III, his successor, *see note* 50, *infra*.

[47] Robert Dickson was an Englishman who began to trade with the Sioux as early as 1790, and acquired much fame in the early history of the country. He took a prominent part in encouraging the Western tribes to take up arms against the Americans. Yet he was instrumental in saving many Americans from barbarous treatment at the hands of the savages. In 1817 he was brought to St. Louis a prisoner, charged with alienating the Sioux from the United States, in complicity with Lord Selkirk. He was soon afterward released and allowed to return to Canada. (See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, i, 2d ed. 1872, p. 390, and Coues' *Pike's Expedition*, p. 117, *note* 23.)

Trempe à l'Eau"[48] (the mountain which soaks in the river) where we anchored for the night— This mountain is near the *E* shore, nearly two miles in circumference, & upwards of 200 feet elevation above the surface of the water, & having a river,[49] falling in to the Mississ. in its rear.

This river we have hitherto found beautifully diversified with Islands, of a variety of shapes & dimensions, & its banks offering to the eye much picturesque & interesting scenery— Today, particularly, we have seen on the *W* shore, for several miles, a succession of hills, about 200 feet high, & a thousand, long, well timbered, on their sides & front, but Tops bare, in the shape of immense buildings & very regular, & divided or separated by ravines, 50 feet wide, leading to the river.

August 1st.

Started at 4 A.M.—passed Black river to the East about 100 yards wide at its mouth; met a canoe with 6 Indians ascending the river; they came on board, & one we found to be a nephew[50] of Wabasha, treated them with some whiskey,

[48] Carver says: "About sixty miles below this Lake [Pepin] is a mountain remarkably situated; for it stands by itself exactly in the middle of the river, and looks as if it had slidden from the adjacent shore into the stream. It cannot be termed an island, as it rises immediately from the brink of the water to a considerable height. Both the Indians and the French call it the Mountain in the River." (Carver's *Travels*, Boston ed. 1797, p. 39.)

[49] The river is now known as the "Trempealeau," and runs through the county of the same name in Wisconsin.

[50] The nephew of Wabasha, here mentioned, may have been the one who succeeded him as Wabasha III. Although Coues speaks of Wabasha III as the *son* of the old chief, and says he resided at the village below Lake Pepin, we have the authority of Long, who met both the old chief and his designated successor, that the latter was a *nephew*. He says: "Met the nephew of La Feuille [Wabasha] and another Indian, who were on a hunting expedition. My interpreter informed the nephew, *who is to succeed his uncle in the office of chief*, that a party of the Sioux Indians of his village had followed us, to beg whiskey, after we had given them all we thought it prudent to part with. He appeared much offended that they should have done so, and eagerly inquired if his uncle was not at home to restrain them. We gave them some tobacco and whiskey and left them." (Long's *Skiff Voyage* (1817), *Minn. Hist. Colls*, ii., p. 21.) Wabasha III resided at the village mentioned till 1853, and in 1872 was living on the Niobrara Reservation. (Coues' Pike, p. 44, *note* 50.)

when they left us— Passed "Prairie Le Cross;" (so called from the circumstance of a game of ball by that name being frequently played by the Indians at that place) The Prairie commences at the mouth of the river of that name, about 15 yards wide, & extends, on the *E.* shore, about a mile, & bounded in the rear by high hills and cliffs, a mile from the Mississippi— Saw several geese & Pelicans, many of which we fired at, but without success—The afternoon, quite warm, & at 5 P.M. passed the grave of an Indian interpreter, who had been drowned last summer, & whose body about 20 days subsequently was found, suspended to some branches of a tree, by some of the 5th Inf'y, was recognized and interred at this place—[51]

The Sand bars in this river we find to inconvenience [us] very much; for it is impossible, even with the greatest care, to prevent running on them & we are then detained considerably, ere we can get off. Passed the Iowa river on the *West* at 9 P.M., & all on board being desirous of proceding tonight, we continued, winding our course with the turns of the channel of the river.

August 2nd.

At 4 A.M. passed Yellow river, 20 yards wide, on the *West*, & at 5 reached "Prairie Du Chien," where we found two companies of the 5th Regt. established in comfortable barracks, 100 yards square, with 2 block houses at opposite angles, & 200 yards from the water—

The village of Prairie Du Chien, which was first established by the French from Canada in 1770, for the purpose of trade

[51] That part of the 5th Infantry which established the post at the mouth of the St. Peter's, under command of Col. Leavenworth, had passed here the summer before on its way up the river. Maj. Thos. Forsyth, an Indian agent who accompanied the expedition, kept a journal of their voyage. He records that they left Prairie du Chien 8 Aug., 1819. An entry made the following day, when they must have reached the point mentioned by Kearny, contains this statement: "We this day found the body of A. Aunger, and buried it." (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 201.) We may reasonably infer this to have been the unfortunate interpreter whose grave Kearny noted.

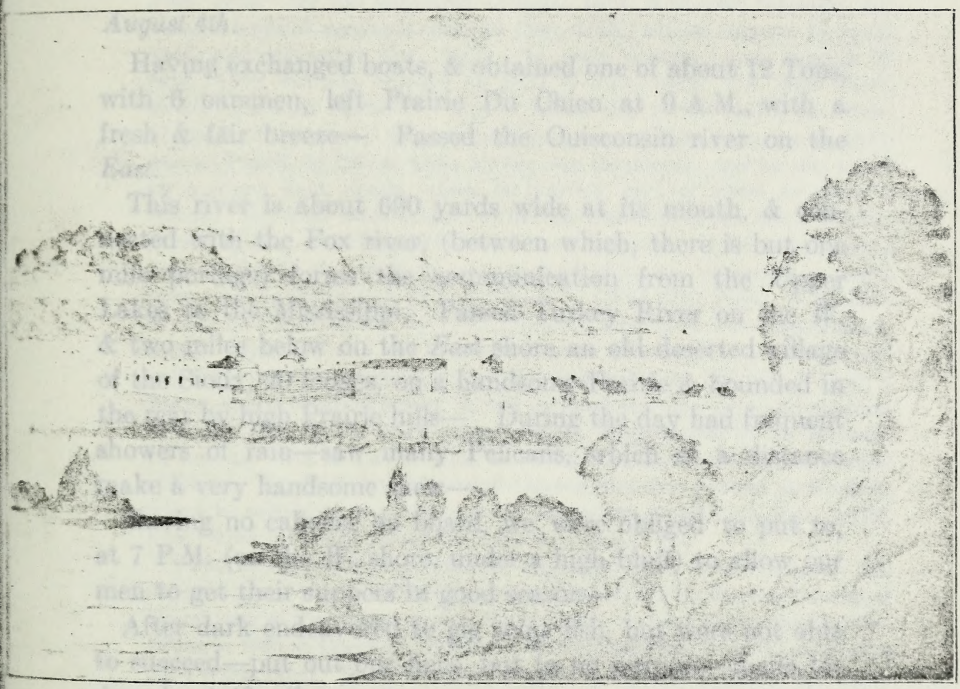
or traffic with the Indians, is on the *E.* bank of the Mississippi, 5 miles by water above the mouth of the Ouisconsin— It is the most advanced white settlement on this river & may consist of 100 houses, lying in 3 different detachments— These houses are of logs, & are much better calculated to resist the heat of the summer than the winter cold— The Inhabitants about 500, mostly French, very hospitable, & pleased to see and entertain strangers.[52]

The Prairie on which the village is built extends for some miles on the river, & is bounded in the rear by hills 400 feet high, two miles distant from the water; about midway up these hills runs a ledge of rocks & many other indications are to be seen, to lead to the conclusion of their having once been the boundary of the river.

We were politely received by the officers at this Post, & our baggage having been carried into the Cantonment, we were invited to live at the Mess during our stay at the Post.[53]

[52] Prairie du Chien village began as a rendezvous for Indians of various tribes who came thither to trade with one another. By common consent the place was regarded as neutral ground, where the different tribes, however hostile to one another, might visit and trade in safety. The French began to settle there in 1737, much earlier than Kearny says, and set up a trading post. He overestimated the size of the town. According to the statements of Judge Lockwood, a pioneer citizen, and of Maj. Long, who made a careful count, it had probably not over 200 people. Nearly all of French blood, inmixed with Indian, they were good Indian traders and voyagers, but not very enterprising citizens. Not until 1835, after the Indian troubles had subsided, did the Americans settle there in any considerable number and make it a self-respecting town. (See Lockwood's "Early Times in Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. 114 *et seq.*)

[53] "Fort Crawford" was the name of the post. It was built in 1816 by the Rifle Regiment, on the same spot, the top of a mound, where had stood a stockade of the same name, erected by the Americans in 1814, captured by the British and held by them till the peace of 1815. During the several years intervening between the completion of the fort and the time Kearny wrote, the commanding officer of the post was Lieutenant-Colonel Willoughby Morgan, the senior officer accompanying our party. The fort was abandoned in 1826 through the instrumentality of Col. Snelling, who disliked Prairie du Chien for differences he had had with some of its principal inhabitants, and the troops were removed to Fort Snelling. The following year, on account of fresh Indian troubles, two companies were returned. The fort was thereafter continuously garrisoned till 1831, when a newer fort of the same name was erected in another part of the town.



(From an old print.)

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN AND FORT CRAWFORD.

August 3d.

Passed the day partly in Camp & partly in the village— In the evening visited some *Wig Wams* where I found a very pretty squaw, who during my visit fell into fits.

This afternoon about 30 of the principal warriors & leading men of the Winnebagos arrived at the village.

August 4th.

Having exchanged boats, & obtained one of about 12 Tons, with 6 oarsmen, left Prairie Du Chien at 9 A.M., with a fresh & fair breeze— Passed the Ouisconsin river on the *East.*

This river is about 600 yards wide at its mouth, & connected with the Fox river, (between which, there is but one mile portage) forms the communication from the Upper Lakes to the Mississippi. Passed Turkey River on the *W.* & two miles below on the *East* shore an old deserted village of the Sioux, 20 lodges, on a handsome Prairie & bounded in the rear by high Prairie hills— During the day had frequent showers of rain—saw many Pelicans, which at a distance make a very handsome shew—

Having no cabouse on board, we were obliged to put to, at 7 P.M. (on the *W.* shore, under a high bluff) to allow our men to get their suppers in good season—

After dark endeavored to gig some fish, but were not able to succeed—put out our lines, but to no purpose—made today about 40 miles.

August 5th.

The mosquitoes we found last night very troublesome— Started at 4 A.M. passed "Bear Creek" on the *West* & at breakfast time stopped at a small Island, where we saw a large flock of pigeons, & secured 8 of them for our dinner. At 10 A.M. stopped at a settlement of traders, (where we

(Lockwood.) (See also Long's Voyage of 1817, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 52 *et seq.*) The commanding officer at the time of Kearny's visit was Capt. J. Fowle, 5th Infantry. He is mentioned by Schoolcraft, who came along, with Gov. Cass, just three days after Kearny.

found Dr. Muir,[54] late of the army, with his squaw & 2 children) opposite a "Fox village" of 17 lodges, & 100 Inhabitants— On a high hill, at one end of the village, we saw a small building, covering the remains of Mr. Dubuque,[55] who

[54] SAMUEL C. MUIR, born in District of Columbia, became a surgeon's mate in the 1st Infantry, 7 April, 1813, and was honorably discharged 15 June, 1815. He was reinstated 13 Sept., 1815, in the 8th Infantry; became a hospital surgeon's mate 31 Oct., 1817; a post surgeon 18 April, 1818, and resigned 1 Aug., 1818. He again became a post surgeon 28 Sept., 1818, but was dropped for good 27 July, 1819. Col. John Shaw, in his "Personal Narrative," says: "About this period [1815] Dr. Muir, of the United States Army, whom I had seen at Fort Johnston in 1814, was at Prairie du Chien, when his life was threatened, and he was saved by a young Sauk squaw, whom he married, and by whom he raised a family. Dr. Muir often related to me the incidents of his wife's heroism in saving him, but the particulars I have forgotten. Like most persons connected with the army, he was too fond of liquor; otherwise he might have risen to distinction and usefulness." (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 224.) A note on the foregoing, by L. C. D[raper], says Muir was a Scotchman, a good physician, who had been educated at Edinburgh; that while trading with the Winnebagoes a plan was concocted to kill him, "when a young squaw apprised him of it, and secreted him in a cave and supplied him with food till the alarm passed away. In gratitude to his deliverer, he took her with him as his wife, and settled at Galena and raised several children. Dr. Muir was afterwards among the first settlers at Keokuk, where he carried on the Indian trade, and where he died [24 Sept., 1832], after which his family joined the Indians." (*ibid.*)

[55] JULIEN DUBUQUE is the man for whom Dubuque, Iowa, is named. His ancestor, Jean Baptiste Dubuc, born in 1641 in Trinity Parish, Diocese of Rouen, son of Pierre Dubuc and Marie Hotot, married Francoise L'Archevêque in 1668 at Quebec. Their son Romain, baptised in 1671, married in 1693 Anne Pinel. Their son Noel-Augustin, baptised in 1707, married in 1744 Marie Mailhot. Their son Julien was baptised in 1762 at Saint-Pierre-les-Becquets. Julien Dubuque emigrated to the province of Louisiana in 1774 and settled at Prairie du Chien in 1785. He very soon obtained great influence over the Indians, for he became familiar with their conjurations and magic. He learned of the existence of the lead mines on the west of the Mississippi, discovered in 1780 by the wife of the chief Peosta, of the Foxes. Realizing the value of the discovery he tried to obtain a grant of the land from the Indians, who had steadfastly refused to make concession to any white man. By means of his almost supernatural power, as the Indians believed, he succeeded in securing a grant of seven leagues along the Mississippi River and three leagues in depth, at a grand council of the Indians, held at Prairie du Chien in 1788. The location of the grant was about 500 miles above St. Louis. To gain the goodwill of the Spanish possessors of the soil he named the plant "The Mines of Spain", and in 1796 sent a petition to the Governor of Louisiana, Baron de

died in 1808, & who obtained from the Spanish government (previous to the cession of this country to the Americans) the title to the "Lead Mines," which commence one mile from this place— These mines are at present partially worked by 5 or 6 of the "Fox Indians."

We were politely received by Dr. M. & the traders— On leaving them, passed two canoes, with Indians, descending the river, & were accosted by them with "*How de do, How de do, How de do*" a salutation I find every Indian on the Mississippi acquainted with—

Landed, at dark, on a sand beach, on the *E.* shore—put our hook & line, & caught the largest Eel I ever saw.

August 6th. Sunday.

Proceded, at 4 A.M., with a strong head wind— Passed a Keel Boat, from St. Louis, on its way to Prairie Du Chien,

Carondelet, setting forth his claims. It was referred to Andrew Todd, who had a monopoly of the Indian trade of the upper Mississippi. Todd replied that he saw no reason why Dubuque should not be given the land provided he would not trade with the Indians without Todd's consent. Dubuque then proceeded to operate the mines, using Indian labor. It is said that such was his influence that he made the Indians *work*. Out of his lead and peltries, which he shipped semi-annually to St. Louis, he amassed a large fortune. Nearly all early travelers upon the Mississippi visited his mines. He died in 1810. His devoted Indians followed his body to the grave in a wailing procession, and for years thereafter it is said they placed a lighted torch on it every night. Certain of them dutifully made annual pilgrimages to the tomb. (*Les Canadiens de L'Ouest* par Joseph Tasse, Montreal, 1878, pp. 239-62.) A visit to it by Thomas L. McKenney is thus described in his article "The Winnebago War of 1827" (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 202): "Arriving at DuBuques sixty miles below the Prairie, we stopped, and visited the grave. This grave is on a high bluff, or point of land, formed by the junction of the Black River with the Mississippi, on the West side of the latter. A village of Fox Indians occupied the low lands south of the bluff—of these Indians we procured the guide who piloted us to DuBuque's last resting place. The ascent was rather fatiguing. Over the grave was a stone, covered with a roof of wood. Upon the stone was a cross on which was carved in rude letters 'Julien DuBuque, died 24th March, 1810, aged 45 years.' Nearby was the burial spot of an Indian Chief." (See also "Indian Chiefs and Pioneers of the North-West," by Col. John Shaw, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 221, Schoolcraft's *Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi*, Phil. Ed., 1855, p. 169, and *Dubuque Claim* [pamphlet], St. Louis, 1845.)

belonging to "Mr. Johnson,[56] the Factor," loaded with stores, &c., &c., Saw on the W. shore several deserted Lodges, & near them a furnace, where the "Foxes" run their Lead, they having mines in this vicinity— Shortly afterwards passed the mouth of the "Wapibisinekaw," about 150 yards wide, & flowing in to the Mississippi from the West. Near this we saw many geese but could not approach to within shooting distance, & a flock of 3 or 400 Pelicans, one of which was shot, but he recovered & flew off 'ere we reached him.

The Banks of the river & the Lands in the rear have assumed a different character from that they exhibited above— The soil, near the river, is clay & the Prairie Bottoms are extending a mile from it, bounded by high hills well covered with timber, & shewing very many beautiful situations for Farms & Buildings— Anchored, at dark, on the *E.* shore, having been detained considerably today in getting over Sand bars that we frequently, inadvertantly, run on— Caught several cat-fish, Pickerel & Turtle.

August 7th.

Started, at 4 A.M., Passed on the *East* shore a high Prairie, for the distance of 8 miles, & reached the "Fox" village[57] on the West, of 19 lodges, where we stopped a few minutes, and traded for some corn.

[56] John W. Johnson, a native of Maryland, was the U. S. factor with headquarters at Prairie du Chien. The factories which he had charge of, says Judge Lockwood, "were established by an Act of Congress previous to the war of 1812, for the humane purpose of preventing the British traders from extortions on the Indians, and of counteracting British influence over them, which they exercised through the traders." From the standpoint of the Indians it would doubtless have been well had they received equal protection from the American traders, who were accustomed to pass off on them goods much inferior to those of British make. Johnson was successively justice of the peace at Prairie du Chien and chief justice of the county court. He married the widow of Captain George Gooding, mentioned in *note* 38. In 1832, after being relieved of his duties as factor, by the winding up of the factory system of Indian trade, he removed with his family to St. Louis, where he died a few years afterwards.

[57] The Fox village was near the site of the present town of Princeton, Scott county, Iowa. (Coues, p. 26, *n.* 31.)

Five miles from this village brought us to the head of the "Rapids De Roche," & entering them, we descended with but little difficulty only striking & sticking on the rocks three times (which was very well, considering we had no Pilot) & reached the foot of them at 1 P.M., they being about 18 miles long— Four miles from this brought us to Fort Armstrong,[58] at the lower end of Rock Island. During the day we were much opposed by strong Head winds, & a severe rain, which increased the difficulty of navigation thro' the Rapids, the current of which however we did not find more than 5 nots per hour.

Rock Island, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, & $1\frac{3}{4}$ wide, lies near the *E* or Illinois shore, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles above Stoney, or Rock River, & is well covered with timber & of good soil; The Fort on it was built in 1815, & is a neat work, with 3 block houses, & capable of resisting any attack from Indians. It forms a part of the chain of Posts on the Mississippi, & is eligible situated, being in the neighborhood of many tribes, & the most war like & powerful on the river. 'Twas on this Island that two of the "Winnebagos," in the month of April, shot two of our Soldiers. The murderers having been demanded of the Chief or Principal men of that Tribe, were a month since brought in by them & are now confined in the Fort, with a ball & chain attached to their arms & legs— When examined, they made a candid confession of their crime, &

[58] Fort Armstrong was built in 1816 and named in honor of the then Secretary of War. A post there was needed as a protection against the restless Sac and Fox Indians, then numbering about 11,800 persons, living in villages on both sides of the river near the island. A historical sketch of it by Mrs. Maria Peck may be found in the *Annals of Iowa*, i, 3d Series, p. 602. A good description of the works is given by Long in his 1817 manuscript, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii. The appearance of the fort on the beautiful wooded island was highly romantic. Gov. Ford in his *History of Illinois* compares "the white-washed walls and tower of the fort perched upon a high cliff, as seen from a distance, to one of those enchanted castles in an uninhabited desert, so graphically described in the Arabian Nights." Col. Morgan of Kearny's party had been the commanding officer at the post in 1816 and 1817. After the Black Hawk War the fort was abandoned. Since then an ordnance post has occupied the island (Rock Island Arsenal) and is to-day one of the most important manufacturing arsenals in the country.

only demanded immediate death— I visited these fellows, & found one of them in consequence of confinement much indisposed.—

August 8th.

In the afternoon, in company with Lieut. Col M. & Lt. P., crossed over to the "Fox Village" of 30 lodges; It is on the *E.* shore, opposite the Fort, & about 300 yards distant— We obtained horses, saddles & bridles, from the Indians, & rode to the "Rock River," 4 miles from its mouth & distant from the Fort about 3 miles—we passed over a very handsome country, having on our right an extensive rich Prairie, reaching to the Mississippi, & on our left, a gentle hill, well covered with corn, beans, &c., &c. & thickly settled—on the Rock river we found the Principal village of the *Sac Nations*[59]— They can here muster 1,000 warriors, & they are considered the most efficient of any of the Indian warriors, being better armed, mounted, & equipped. We found them at a Feast, of which Col. M. participated, the heat prevented me from attending. Saw, in front of one of the chiefs lodges, some scalps, which have lately been taken from the "Sioux," the Sacs having surprised & murdered a party of that Tribe, consisting of 3 old men, 3 women, & 3 children. These two nations are now determined to go to War, & most probably some bloody battles will be fought, 'ere their difference is accommodated. We returned to the Fort at sundown. The day has been excessively hot & oppressive— Mercury at 96 in the shade.

[59] This Sac village, according to Major Long (1817), was by far the largest Indian village along the Mississippi between St. Louis and the Falls of St. Anthony. Its Indian name was Makataimeshekiakiak, translated Black Sparrow Hawk, which became contracted into "Black Hawk." It contained about 100 cabins and had a populati on of between 2000 and 3000. It could furnish over 800 warriors all armed with rifles or fusees. The famous Black Hawk was the leading chief here at this time. Both the Sacs and the Foxes cultivated vast fields of corn in this region. These tribes, whose names are usually linked together, were allies in war but otherwise had only a nominal connection. The Sacs, who outnumbered the Foxes, dwelt on the East side of the river, and the Foxes on the West.

August 9th.

Six chiefs[60] of the "Sacs & Foxes" dined with us, at Maj. Marston's,[61] the commandant of the Fort, & shewed by their manners & conduct that politeness is not confined exclusively to the Whites. They ate & drank agreeably to our customs, & tho' not much used to a knife & fork, or a wineglass, they displayed not the least awkwardness in the managing of either.

We had intended leaving here today, but the oppressive heat thro'out (the mercury being at 97) prevented us.

August 10th.

Having purchased, for Six bottles of whiskey, a Canoe, 25 feet long, & 2 broad, we left "Rock Island," at 6 A.M. our party being now reduced to Lieut. Col. Morgan, Lieut. Pentland, myself & two waiters, one belonging to the Col, the other my own, & each of us seated on the bottom of the boat, with a paddle in hand to work with.

Passed "Rock River" on the East, a handsome & extensive low Prairie on the West;—a small river, called "Pine Creek." In the afternoon, reached "Prairie Island," near the W. shore, which we found 10 miles long, & encamped at sundown, a few miles below the extremity of it.—made today 45 miles.—

[60] Black Hawk was one of the number in all likelihood.

[61] Morrill Marston, a native of N. H., entered the army from Mass. as 1st lieutenant in the 21st Infantry, 12 March, 1812; promoted to captain 26 June, 1813; transferred to 5th Infantry 17 May, 1815; received brevet of major 15 August, 1814, for distinguished service in defence of Fort Erie; dismissed 27 September, 1824; died 9 March, 1831. (Heitman.) After his service at Fort Armstrong he was commanding officer at Fort Edwards, further down the river, where one of his duties seems to have been to stop and search all boats ascending the river to the Indian country to ascertain whether or not they were carrying whisky, a contraband article in the Indian trade. Dr. Meeker recounts that on a trip up the river his party was brought to by a shot from the fort across the bow of his boat. Marston, when he found they had liquor aboard, threatened to confiscate it. On the assurance that it was to be used by Meeker's own men at the lead mines he relented, and, says Meeker, "as was the custom of the day, the brandy soothed all difficulties." ("Early History of the Lead Region", by Dr. Moses Meeker, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi., pp. 278-9.)

August 11th.

Rose at the first dawn of day, & as we had all been much tormented with the mosquitoes since our landing, we started without delay— Passed the Ayauwa[62] river on the *W*, & shortly afterwards stopped to breakfast. After which the wind being somewhat favorable, we hoisted sail, but had not proceded 3 miles, when it died away, & the Sun shone out so intensely hot, that notwithstanding our being considerably hardened & our anxiety to move on, we were oblidged to stop til about 3 P.M. when we again started, & continued our course 'til dark—40 miles.

August 12th.

We were off again at day break, Passed "Pole cat river" on the W. some Traders house, a short distance below, & immediately afterwards Flint Hill (so called, from its composition), which we found 6 miles long & about 100 feet high. Stopped at old "Fort Madison,"[63] on the W. shore, where are the remains of nine chimneys, & some Pickets, & scattering stones, that indicate a military work once existed here. Reached the "Des Moines Rapids" at sundown, & descended, occasionally striking on a Rock, tho' sustaining no injury, passed two boats, with provisions, for "Prairie Du Chien," & arrived at "Fort Edwards" at 12 at night, having made 65 miles.

[62] "Ayauwa" is one of the multitudinous early variations of the name *Iowa*. Nineteen of them are cited by Coues in his *Pike's Expedition* (p. 22) and he includes neither Kearny's rendering or the favorite "Ioway" of the early frontiersmen. Among the most nearly unrecognizable are "Aaiaoua" and "Aiavvi", although "Ajoe" and "Yahowa" are pretty well masked. See also Lewis and Clark, ed. 1893, p. 20.

[63] Fort Madison was built in 1808, according to the best authority, by Zachary Taylor, then a 1st Lieut. in the 7th Infantry. (Coues.) The post was attacked by Indians twice in 1813. In November of that year it was evacuated and burned on account of the failure of the garrison to receive needed provisions. The ruins were visited by Long in 1817, who found "nothing but old chimneys left standing, and a covert way leading from the main garrison to higher ground in the rear, where there was some kind of outwork. In the old garden were found peach, nectarine and apple trees." The present city of Fort Madison, the seat of Lee county, Iowa, and which occupies the old site, grew up in later years.

August 13th. Sunday.

Fort Edwards,[64] on the *E.* or Illinois shore, about 1 mile above the Des Moines River & 3 below the Rapids, is in Lat 40° 21′ N. 'Tis a small square work, with 2 block houses, & capable of containing a company of soldiers— Built in 1815 on a high commanding eminence, & surrounded by a rich & handsome country.

This Post was abandoned 18 months since, but in consequence of the murder of the 2 soldiers at Rock Island, by the Indians, & the representations made by the Factor, of the hostility of the neighboring Tribes, a Lieut. with 20 men were sent here in May last.

August 14th.

In company with the Sub agent, visited the Sac village, a mile below the Fort, & on the Borders of the river. They here count about 100 Warriors. Purchased some sweet corn from the chief's squaw, & after looking at their lodges, 13 in number, their cornfields, &c., &c. returned to the Fort, & on my way passed the remains of the Cantonment[65] where the 8th Infy. were quartered in 1815 & '16.

August 15th.

At 8 A.M. we embarked on board our canoe, & descended one mile, to the mouth of the Des Moines, where we found the

[64] Fort Edwards, nearly opposite the mouth of the Des Moines River, was begun in June 1816, the labor being done by soldiers, and was not quite completed when visited by Long in 1817. He described it as "a palisade work constructed entirely of square timber. It is intended to contain two block houses, situated in the alternate angles of the Fort; a magazine of stone; barracks for the accommodation of one company of soldiers; officer's quarters; hospital, storerooms, etc." The troops could not have remained there very long for Kearny says the post was abandoned 18 months prior to his visit. Major Forsyth in 1819 found living in the evacuated fort some families who were entitled to land for services rendered during the War of 1812. On account of the insults offered them by drunken Indians in the neighborhood, Major Forsyth recommended to Gov. Clark that half a company of soldiers under a subaltern be stationed there. The suggestion seems to have been followed, as Kearny's next entry shows.

[65] Cantonment Edwards, to which Kearny refers, was the precursor of Fort Edwards. It was half a mile s. w. from the fort and was abandoned when the new works were completed.

Steam Boat, "Western Engineer,"[66] commanded by Lieut. Graham,[67] who came here a week since, for the purpose of taking observations, &c. Put our baggage on board, & fastened the canoe to her. Near this saw a coffin containing the bones of an Indian tied fast to the centre of a large tree which was done at the request of the deceased to preserve his fame after the extinction of his body.

Proceded at 10 & run about 15 miles when about 1 P.M. we found ourselves on the Sand bar & from which we endeavored, but without success, to extricate ourselves. The boat has but few hands & those sick with fevers.

August 16th.

At 8 A.M. we succeeded after much exertion in getting off the Sandbar & in endeavoring to cross to the opposite shore to reach the channel, we ran on another bar about 200 yards from the one we left, & found ourselves even faster than before.[68]

At 2 P.M., aware of the uncertainty of the Steam Boat reaching St. Louis, and our party being desirous to proceed without loss of time we took to our canoe, & having a favorable breeze hoisted sail.

[66] Steamboat "Western Engineer." See *note* 12.

[67] JAMES DUNCAN GRAHAM, born 1799 in Virginia, was appointed cadet, U. S. Military Academy, 19 June, 1813; promoted to 3d lieutenant, Artillery Corps, 17 July, 1817; 2d lieutenant, 14 October 1817; 1st lieutenant, 8 September 1819; transferred to 4th Artillery, 1 June 1821; to 3d Artillery, 16 August 1821; brevet captain, Topographical Engineers, 15 January 1829; brevet major, 14 September 1834; major, 7 July, 1838; brevet lieutenant-colonel, 1 January 1847, for valuable and highly distinguished services, particularly on the boundary line between the U. S. and Canada; lieutenant-colonel, 6 August, 1861, and Corps of Engineers, 3 March, 1863; colonel, 1 June, 1863; died at Boston, 28 December, 1865. Graham's service as an army engineer was of the highest order. Some of his most conspicuous work was in connection with the settlement of international boundary disputes. He was a member of several U. S. boundary commissions. (Cullom's *Biog. Reg. etc., U. S. M. A.*)

[68] These particular sand-bars were a source of frequent trouble to navigators. Pike's 70-foot keel-boat got shoaled at about the same place on his voyage up the river in 1805. A good deal of engineering work was done there in after years.

Two miles below stopped at a settlement[69] (the first we have seen since leaving Prairie Du Chien) & engaged Four Men to assist the Steam Boat from her present situation. Passed the "Wakendaw River" on the West at which point we saw large flocks of Turkeys—after which reached "The Two Rivers,"[70] so called from the circumstance of their entering the Mississippi 100 yards apart. Stopped here and took some coffee, when we re-embarked, and it being after dark, passed "Hannibal," without seeing it, and at 12 at night landed and laid down to sleep, all of us being quite weary and tired.

August 17th.

Proceded at 6 A.M; and shortly met a boat ascending the river which we boarded; found her destined for Fort Edwards. The Factor and some officers and Ladies on board.

Passed Salt River on the left, & landed a short distance below at "Louisianna," apparently a thriving place and the capital County Town of Pike County. The Inhabitants we found mostly sick with fevers, & a keel boat being about starting for St. Louis we determined to take a passage on board. This boat is freighted with furs, and worked by six Frenchmen, commanded by a young American, whom the former pay no regard nor respect to. Passed "Clarksville" on the *West;* at dark all on board went to sleep leaving the boat to drift at will, not however 'til a watch of two had been detailed, whose duty I found consisted in sleeping more soundly than the others, the bow and stern being appropriated to them.

[69] The settlement was probably Wyaconda or Waconda, so-called from the river of that name, which Kearny gives as the "Wakendaw River." The place is now La Grange, Lewis County, Missouri, a little above Quincy, Illinois.

[70] "Two Rivers" was a couple of miles above a spot that became the site of a "paper town" that rejoiced in the name of "Marion City", so Coues tells us. Streets and lots galore were laid out to accommodate a great population, which however failed to take advantage of the opportunity. The place is supposed to have inspired Charles Dickens with the idea of "Eden", the immortal boom town in "Martin Chuzzlewit."

August 18th.

On awaking in the morning we found we had progressed but slowly during the night, not having made more than 4 or 5 miles.

In the morning passed by "Quiver"[71] on the West and at noon reached "Capo Gray."[72] At this point the river is quite narrow, not more than 300 yards wide. On the West side are the remains of old "Fort Independence,"[73] erected during the late war for the protection of the Frontier Inhabitants. 12 miles brought us to "Little Capo Gray" where we saw several settlements, & it being dark all hands retired to rest, the same ceremony of the appointment of watch having been gone thro' as the night previous.

August 19th.

At day break passed the "Illinois River" on the East. A short distance below this commences a ridge of Rocks (about 1200 feet high, very irregular, and forming the most antic appearances that can possibly be imagined), which continues as low as "Portage De Sioux," the shore on the west being low and sandy. This Town is prettily situated & is not more than 2 miles to the nearest point of the Missouri,

[71] Not "Quiver", but *Cuivre*, the French word meaning *copper*, was and still is the name of the large stream and island observed by Kearny. Many travelers, including Lewis and Clark, have fallen into the same phonetic trap. It was known also in early days as "Rivière aux Boeufs", or Buffalo River. Pike called it that. The stream comes into the Mississippi as the dividing line between Lincoln and St. Charles Counties, Missouri.

[72] "Capo Gray" should be *Cap au Grès*. This is another French term that lent itself to conversion by Americans into an English phrase of similar sound but different meaning. Even the French fell into the habit of rendering the name "Cap au Gris", mistaking *grès*, a noun, meaning sandstone, for the adjective *gris*, meaning gray. It was also called "Cap au Gré," an obvious error. Similar corruptions of early French terms in this region might be instanced. "*Vide Poche*" (empty pocket) an ancient name given the village of Carondelet (now a part of the city of St. Louis) became anglicized in many mouths into "wheat bush."

[73] "Fort Independence" was one of the many temporary stockades erected in St. Charles County during the war of 1812. It is probably the same defence that is mentioned by Shaw under the name "Fort Cap au Gré."

being 8 above its mouth. Finding our progress to be but slow we left the Keel Boat and again taking to our canoe passed the Town of "Alton," on the Illinois side, having a large Sandbar in front of it; 3 miles further brought us to the mouth of the Missouri, which we welcomed most cordially as an old acquaintance, and at 5 P.M. reached St. Louis having come down the Mississippi from the St. Peters, a distance of 900 miles.

(*Conclusion of Part I.*)

PETITION OF DANIEL BOONE AND OTHERS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF FERRY [1805]

To the Honourable Cort of Quarter Sessions for the District of St. Louis.

The Undersigned Petiteoners (Inhabitance of the Femme osage & St. Andrew) Humbly Request that it may Pleas the said Honourable Court to alow & Direct a ferry to be appointed & established on the Missouri River a fit place of landing below the Tavren Rock & opposit to the said Femme osage Settlements & that Mr. Alexander M. Cortney may be appointed by the said Honourable Court to Keep and hol the said Ferry Exclusively with the same previleges astablished to other ferrys in the Territory.

Richard Hainds	Daniel Boone
Daniel M. Boone	John Lindsay
William Hays	James Vanbiber
Boon Hays	Joseph hainds
David Darst	Joshua Dodson
Timothy Kibby	Stephen Ayres
Thomas Smith	John McCortney
Jonathan Bryan	Alexr Graham
James Bryan	George Gordon
John Davis	Ludwell Bacon.

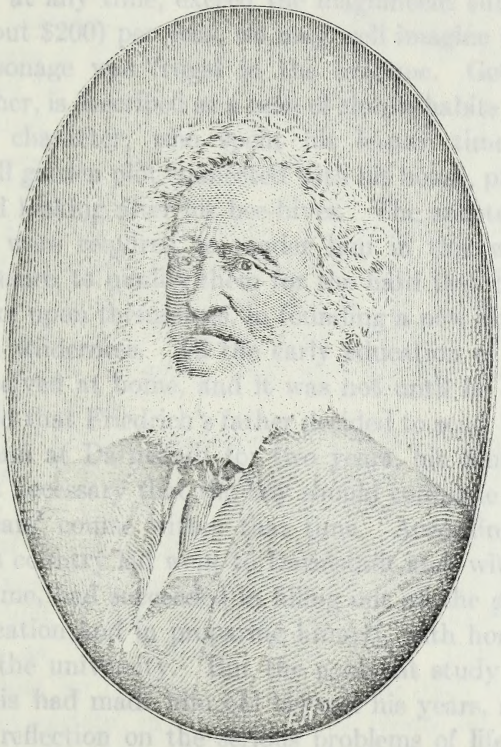
A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND WORK OF FRIEDRICH MUENCH.

By Julius Thamer Muench.

(Read at a meeting of the Society, 17 December, 1903.)

There are few things more interesting than a study of the conditions that led to the emigration of large numbers of educated young Germans, from the beginning to the middle of last century, and their settlement in this country. While the limitations of this sketch will not permit more than a casual allusion to these conditions, yet I shall endeavor to give, in connection with the life of Friedrich Muench, a sufficient glimpse of the influences that surrounded the early part of his career, to show how closely the ideals for which he and his companions contended, resembled those of the founders of our government, and how easy it was for them to fall in with the spirit of our institutions and become excellent American citizens.

Friedrich Muench was born in Niedergemuenden, near Darmstadt, in the province of Oberhessen, on the 25th day of June, 1799. The place of his birth is one of those quiet, rural German villages, which has not changed, probably, either in character or number of its inhabitants since that date, and will hardly have undergone any material changes in the course of another hundred years. Had it not been for the spirit of fermentation and political unrest, which marked the early part of the nineteenth century, and influenced the life of all German universities, making them hot-beds of revolutionary ideas, it is doubtful whether Friedrich Muench's life would have been different from that of his ancestors, who, for four or five generations preceding his birth, had lived the quiet life of country preachers. That the interests of earlier Muenchs, however, extended in some things beyond the mere routine duties of their profession, is shown by the church register kept



FRIEDRICH MUENCH.

and united fatherland, and had died fighting for their ideals. In the universities throughout Germany, student organizations had been formed, which, differing in some respects, were yet actuated by the same strong love of country and the firm conviction that only in union lay strength to avoid a repetition of the shame of past decades. Out of the idea of a united monarchical Germany, the plan for a united country under a republican form of government was evolved; this was to be brought about by a general uprising, headed by the student societies, against the array of petty tyrants, who were at that time ruling over a motley collection of states of all sizes. Some of the "Burschenschaftler" (as they were called), went so far as to advocate assassination, as a justifiable means of getting rid of distasteful officials, but this view, although held by some of the most intellectual men in the organizations, was not generally concurred in, it being considered unworthy of the lofty ideals for which they were striving, as well as dangerous to the cause.

The society at Giessen was formed by Charles Follen, during the year in which Friedrich Muench entered the university. Its members were known as "Die Schwarzen" (The Blacks), on account of the plain black garb affected by them, and to distinguish them from the members of the older organization, who, on account of their dissipation and rather loose habits, were known as "Die Wilden" (The Wild). Considerable hostility sprang up between the two bodies from the start, since the new society, in addition to its efforts for German unity, waged a lively crusade against the antiquated fencing and drinking customs of the older. The result was a succession of duels, which Follen, who had great skill with the sword, although opposed to duelling on principle, accepted, merely to show his antagonists that his opposition to the practice was not the result of cowardice. Follen was the life and soul of the "Bund der Schwarzen." He seems to have been a man of wonderful intellect and great personal magnetism, who exercised a singular control over his followers. His influence over Muench, who was but seventeen years old at the time, was strong and lasting.

Among other topics discussed at their regular meetings was the subject of religion, and it was Follen who first spoke to Muench of Christ as "The Ideal Man" and not as a divinity. Muench, whose religious teachings at home had been liberal and on broad humanitarian, rather than orthodox, lines, after some hesitation and reflection, accepted his friend's views on this point. This must not be taken to indicate that either of these men was an atheist. On the contrary, both were imbued with deep and genuine religious feeling. Follen at the time of his death, in 1840, was a Unitarian minister in Boston, and Muench was accustomed to occupy the pulpit in a church near his home, for several years after coming to this country. Even after he ceased preaching, he remained the consistent opponent of the followers of the doctrine of materialism.

Follen's brother, Paul, who retained the latinized form of the name "Follenius," entered the university in 1817, and he and Muench soon became bosom friends. On their vacation trips to Niedergemuenden, he met Muench's youngest sister, whom he afterwards married.

Muench had chosen the study of theology, both because of his father's express wish, and because it was cheaper, better adapted to his limited means, and offered earlier opportunities for obtaining a settled income, than any other profession he could have adopted. In 1819 he was admitted to the public examination, and before the end of the year he was a duly ordained minister of the gospel. Follen had graduated as a doctor of laws in 1818, and this left Paul Follenius alone at Giessen to keep up the spirit of liberty inspired by his brother.

Little of practical value had come of any of the patriotic organizations, while Muench was at Giessen. Great difficulty was experienced in arousing among the masses that love of freedom and self-government, which was essential to the success of their plans. Beyond a few isolated acts, such as the useless killing of the poet Kotzebue, by Sand, and the attempted assassination of a Hessian minister of state, by an apothecary's assistant, nothing was accomplished, and even these acts did not result in the general uprising which was expected of them. The "German Michel" was not yet pre-

pared for self-government, nor was he, in 1848, nor will he, probably, ever be. The success of Bismarck in bringing about, by a few masterful strokes, the very union which the brightest intellects of the country had tried for years to educate the masses up to, and the tremendous popularity of this union, would seem to indicate that the Germans, as a whole, take more kindly to being forced than to being coaxed into new conditions.

After leaving Giessen, Muench was for a time engaged as a private tutor. In the following year he was called home to Niedergemuenden to assist his father, who was growing old and feeble, in the discharge of his duties. For five years he occupied the subordinate position of an assistant, utilizing his ample leisure in completing his education in those branches which, on account of the shortness of his course, he had been compelled to neglect, and devoting himself chiefly to the study of the philosophers, among whom Kant was his favorite. On the death of his father, in 1825, the position thus made vacant was conferred upon him. In the following year he was married, and it seemed for a time as though all the hopes and ambitions of college days were to be forgotten in the quiet humdrum life of a rural parsonage. After four exceedingly happy years of married life, his wife died, leaving him to care for two infant children, a girl and a boy.

Meanwhile, Paul Follenius had taken his degree in law had soon after married Muench's sister, and was enjoying a lucrative practice in Giessen. Many higher positions were open to him, but his early ideals and associations had rendered him wholly unfit for the life of a German official. His friendship for Muench had remained as before, and many visits were exchanged between Giessen and Niedergemuenden. At some of these the subject of emigration had been brought up, but so long as there seemed a chance to carry out his ideas at home, Follenius was unwilling to leave. When, after, 1830, it became apparent that all hopes for political changes were ended for some time to come, the subject was brought up again and discussed in all seriousness. Muench's original idea was to take over only a few congenial families and to settle to-

gether in some one of the States, preferably Ohio, where some of their acquaintances were already located. Follenius, however, true to his desire to benefit as large a number of his countrymen as possible, advocated emigration on a large scale, to which suggestion Muench finally yielded.

Accordingly, in 1833, the "Giessener Auswanderungsgesellschaft" (Giessen Emigration Society) was organized. The object of this society was, by gradual settlement, to found a new German state in some American territory, and to draw to this state all that vast number of Germans to whom conditions at home had become intolerable. The place first selected was Arkansas, the climate and soil of which had been represented to them as similar to those of Spain. Fortunately, a commission sent out to investigate returned in the nick of time to prevent them from making this mistake. Missouri was then chosen as their destination.

Feeling greatly encouraged by favorable comment from all sides upon their undertaking, the organizers of the society went so far as to draft a set of laws for the government of the future colony. Finally, when five hundred members had been secured from all parts of Germany, the lists were closed, and the Spring of 1834 was determined upon as the time for sailing. As all the party could not be gotten ready at the same time, it was decided that Follenius should take one division over by way of New Orleans, while Muench was to follow a month later with the second, by way of Baltimore. After a number of misfortunes and some minor embarrassments, Follenius' party finally got under way.

During the month that intervened before the day set for his own departure, Muench suffered a number of sad misfortunes, as well as annoyances at the hands of petty officials, who compelled him to pay ten per cent. of his fortune into the public treasury, under a dead letter law, resurrected for the purpose, before issuing his passport to him. His second wife, whom he had married a year and a half after the death of the first, had become dangerously ill after the birth of her first child, and only just succeeded in getting ready to start on the appointed day. Her father and an elder brother had died

but a short time before, and her younger brother, a boy of fourteen years, who had come to bid them farewell, was killed in the door of her home by a horse which her husband's brother was riding. The feelings, therefore, with which they left all that was familiar and dear to them, may be better imagined than described.

After they had gotten fairly started, and while on the road to Bremen, chicken-pox broke out among the children and threatened a further delay, but they succeeded in reaching their destination before the day set for sailing. Arrived at Bremen, they were informed that the ship on which they had contracted to take passage, had been detained, and was not expected to arrive for some weeks. Here was a new quandary! The owners of the ship, who had been careful to provide for a penalty for every day's delay caused by the colonists, were not so ready to take steps to lessen the unpleasant consequences of their own breach of contract. It was only after a week of negotiations and the employment of counsel, that a compromise was effected, by the terms of which Muench's party was to be quartered on an island in the Weser River at the cost of the ship owners, until the arrival of their vessel.

Following another vain wait of four weeks, arrangements were finally made to take passage on the American ship "Medora," which brought them safely to Baltimore, after a poor and uneventful voyage of seven weeks. From Baltimore, which they found oppressively hot under a fierce July sun, the party went by wagon to Wheeling, West Virginia, from which point the remainder of the trip to St. Louis, the meeting place agreed upon, was to be made by boat, along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. They found the change from hot, rough roads to the cool river breezes delightful.

On arriving at Cincinnati, they went on shore for a little relaxation from their confinement on the boat. Here Muench was surprised at being addressed in German by a small, elderly man, who asked him if his party were not the second detachment of the Giessen Society, and, on receiving an affirmative reply, and being, in turn, questioned as to what he knew about this undertaking, said: "I can tell you a great

many things about it of which you yourself are still ignorant." He then proceeded to relate that the first division of the Society had met with innumerable reverses; that Follenius' child had died at sea; that, upon his arrival at New Orleans, cholera had broken out among the members of his party, many of whom had died during the trip up the Mississippi; that Follenius himself had been taken sick and compelled to remain at Paducah, Kentucky, and that the balance of his companions, upon reaching St. Louis, had disbanded. This news came as a bolt from a clear sky, and did not tend to elevate the spirits of Muench's party. Through all the trials and disappointments of the voyage he had kept up their courage by holding out to them the prospect of an early reunion with the other members of the society, and the certainty of the success of their plan, thereafter, by the efforts of a united colony. Now his most cherished hopes seemed to have been shattered, and there was nothing left to do but to proceed to St. Louis, and, after an accounting with the first division, decide on the best way out of a bad situation.

On Muench's arrival in this city, then a plain country town, with a number of block houses still left on Second Street, and giving no evidence of future greatness, it was found that the books of the first division had not been carefully kept, and that there was a shortage in the amount which had been deposited here to the credit of the second division, by the remnant of Follenius' party, while he himself was lying sick at Paducah. The result was that the two leaders later contributed enough out of their own funds to reduce the deficit to seven or eight dollars per head.

Not having heard from his brother-in-law in St. Louis, Muench proceeded to St. Charles to meet him. There they talked over their project fully, and, realizing that it would be impossible ever again to get enough of their party together to carry out their original plans, they decided to buy individual homesteads and to settle down to the life of American farmers, taking with them as many of their companions as cared to go. Warren County, the place where Duden, the

writer from whom they received their inspiration to come to this State, had lived for a time, was selected as the most favorable place to locate.

Accordingly, after returning to St. Louis, and settling their financial affairs, Follenius and Muench and several others of their party, proceeded to a locality about fifty-six miles northwest of the city and a mile from the home of Baron Bock, the man who had, at Cincinnati, informed Muench of Follenius' misfortunes: and here they bought adjoining farms, on which they lived until the time of their death.

There was a small two-room log-house on Muench's place, and about fifteen of the one hundred and twenty acres comprising his farm had been cleared. It being too late in the season to raise their own supplies, they had to rely on what they could get in the vicinity, which was little enough. The time until the following spring was employed in making much needed improvements. The accounts of Duden had led them to believe that but half their time would be taken up in tilling the soil, and that the remainder could be devoted to recreation and to educational pursuits. That this was *not strictly true* they soon learned to their sorrow. Muench did devote a considerable part of his time to the teaching of the flock of children that had come over with him, in order that they might not remain entirely without education, and in order to afford himself some relaxation from his physical labors, but the time used for this purpose had to be made up in the early morning and late evening hours. Sundays and rainy weather furnished them their only opportunities for reading and recreation. To fill out the long winter evenings and days when the weather would not permit him to venture out, Muench learned to make baskets and to roll cigars, often trading a winter's accumulation of the latter for his supply of coffee or other provisions. When his oldest son had grown up sufficiently to take some of the hardest farm work off his hands, he tried growing grapes and became one of the pioneers of grape culture in the State. Although he did not succeed in raising Rhine wine in Missouri, as he had hoped, his efforts in this direction were so far successful as to have given the

State a permanent industry. His vineyard was his hobby, and in order to induce others to emulate his example, he wrote the "American School of Grape Culture," which was published about 1859.

In spite of the hard work of those early years, the intercourse between Muench and his brother-in-law, his brother George, who had come over in 1837, and other families of education in the vicinity, which had come to be known as the "Latin Settlement," served to keep up his intellectual activity. In addition, he had already begun to write essays and comments on questions of the day for various German publications. These were supplemented by a work in pamphlet form, written originally for the instruction of his German neighbors and later published in English, entitled "A Treatise on Religion and Christianity, Orthodoxy and Rationalism." Then followed several novels and, at intervals, poems. The greatest part of Friedrich Muench's work, however, consists of the essays and short articles on timely subjects, already mentioned, which appeared, originally, under the *nom de plume* "Far West."

In 1858, at the solicitation of a Mr. G. L. Braie of New York, he wrote a book called "Der Staat Missouri," the object of which was to bring about an increase in German immigration to this State. In April of the following year he went to Germany in the interest of this book, and this gave him a long-wished for opportunity to once more visit the land of his birth, and to see again the scenes and the friends of his youth. He also saw more of the country than he had seen before he left it. He found the early ardor of some of his schoolmates so far cooled that they would speak of old times in whispers only, and seemed apprehensive lest his visit should, in some way, place them in a bad light with the government. Incidents such as these convinced him more firmly than ever that he had been wise in casting his lot with this country. Just before returning home, he wrote a pamphlet called "The Future of North America, and Glimpses of the New World from the Old," which was published in Bremen. A further philosophical treatise written after his return, is his little

book called "Sensual and Spiritual Views of Life," which was followed by an "Ethical Treatise" for use in schools, as a substitute for religious text books, and his "Five Lectures on Religion, Superstition and Intelligent Humanity."

Although taking an interest in politics only in its broader sense, he was successively elected to the offices of road overseer and justice of the peace, which latter brought him an average income of fifteen to twenty dollars a year, during the eight years he held it. In 1856, after living quietly on his farm for twenty-two years, he came out of his retirement to take an active part in the campaign that was then going on. With Hecker and others he addressed mass meetings in a number of the larger Eastern cities. In 1860 he was a delegate to the Convention that nominated Lincoln for the presidency, and again took an active interest in the campaign of that year. In 1862 he was elected a member of the state senate, and served during the following four important years of Missouri's history.

Friedrich Muench's appearance at this time is described by a contemporary as that of a patriarch. He was tall and erect, with strongly marked features, a prominent aquiline nose and piercing dark brown eyes, which did not lose their lustre until they were closed in death. He was a sort of Nestor among the members of the legislature, among whom he was known as "Father Muench." In debate he was clear, logical and forceful. His early training and the fourteen years or more he spent in the pulpit, had made the style of his oratory didactic, rather than persuasive. On the slavery question he was conservative, being one of the few German Americans who were advocates of gradual emancipation. As soon as the war was ended, he was in favor of an early restitution of full civil rights to the defeated south. He became a member of the Liberal Republican party, and was a staunch supporter of Governor Gratz Brown.

From whatever side we view Friedrich Muench, whether as a writer or as a public speaker, his chief claim to distinction rests on his qualities as an instructor. His object, apparent in his books and pamphlets, was to solve problems of general

interest; his newspaper articles, which appeared chiefly in the *Westliche Post* of this city, whose editor, Dr. Emil Preetorius, was his life-long friend, were designed to elucidate questions of the day, which the average reader would not readily understand; and in his public speeches he aimed to give his audience the benefit of the observations and experience of his long life. His sentences are always crisp and concise. He used few figures of speech, and we find in his writings none of those ponderous periods, of which German men of letters are so fond.

After his term in the Senate, Muench held no public office, except that of a member of the State Board of Immigration, to which he was first appointed by Governor Fletcher, and which he held until his death. It was a purely honorary position, but it gave him an opportunity to do effective work in the interests of German immigration.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, two of Muench's sons had entered the Union Army. The younger fell at the battle of Wilson's Creek, while the other remained in the service until the end of the war. Out of a large number of children, only six lived to be married, four sons and two daughters. To only the youngest of his son was he enabled to give the benefits of a college training.

One evening, in December, in the year of 1881, after having gone to his vineyard to trim his vines, Friedrich Muench failed to respond to the summons which, for almost fifty years, had called him home from his day's work. A searching party made up of his son and several of his grandchildren, found him lying beneath one of his favorite vines, dead, his hand still grasping the shears with which he had been at work. His end was as peaceful as his life had been, and came as he had often wished it would come: suddenly and without warning. Only a few days before, he had written a correspondence for the *Westliche Post*, which showed no diminution of his mental powers.

They buried him on the top of the highest bluff on his farm, beneath the shade of tall cedars, in accordance with his desire, close to the remains of his loved ones, who had preceded

him in death. By his side now rests all that is mortal of his wife, the faithful companion who, born and raised amidst refined surroundings, left home and friends and family, and all that was dear to her in a land where she had been happy and contented, and, without complaint, followed him to an uncertain future in a New World, true to her promise, "for better or for worse." She devoted herself to lessening his burdens, and did it gladly, and she believed with him in his motto, that "the noblest thing of all is to have devoted an entire lifetime to the betterment of mankind."

A TRIBUTE TO CAPTAIN STODDARD.

St. Louis, Sept. 30th, 1804.

Amos Stoddard, esqr., first Civil Commandant of Louisiana.

Sir.

The Representatives of the several Districts of Louisiana having gone through the painful task of drawing up their Remonstrances & Petitions to Congress, cannot agree to separate without indulging in the pleasure of expressing to you Sir in the name of the Inhabitants of Louisiana their unfeigned acknowledgments for your Judicious, Attentive & exemplary dispensation of Justice within this Territory during your Administration, and the readiness which you have always shown to contribute to the public Good.

May Louisiana ever feel the same Regret in parting from its chief Magistrate—And may genuine Philanthropy—solid Parts unblemished Disinterestedness continue to characterize the Governors of Lousiana.

In behalf of the Deputies from the different districts we have the honor to be Sir

Your devoted
& very hbl servants.
Ch Gratiot President
P. Provenchere, Secty.

THE BEGINNING OF SPANISH MISSOURI.

Instructions, D'Ulloa to Rui, 1767.

General Archives of Indies. Seville. Papers Coming from the Island of Cuba. Louisiana. Correspondence of Governors. (Translated from the Spanish by Miss Ysabel Sandoval.)

Instructions for the expedition of the part of Illinois, which is in charge of Captain Don Francisco Rui.[1]

[1] Don Francisco Rui is known to us only in connection with this expedition. His name, even, has been the subject of much uncertainty. Col. Auguste Chouteau, in his deposition appearing in Hunt's Minutes, Vol. 1, page 126, calls him Mr. Rious. Billon calls him Rios and Rive. Professor Fortier uses the name Rios, and Gayarré, Rici. The Baron Villiers du Terrage prints it Riu. It is easy to see how the written name might be taken to be Rui, Riu, Rici, or Rive. The transcript from which the foregoing translation was made is clearly written Riu. Another transcript of the same orignal is plainly Rui. This latter has been chosen as the correct form on the faith of statements of persons of Spanish blood, that the form Riu is not Spanish, while Rui is common.

Just when this expedition started from New Orleans is not known. Aubry, in a dispatch dated 30 March, 1767, said: "In spite of my observations upon the insufficiency and the scattering of the troops that he has, M. de Ulloa has decided to send forty men to the Illinois."

They were probably sent soon after that date and arrived here about the first of July.

The time of their departure can be more definitely fixed. Aubry writes, 8 March, 1769, that because of the rigorous season, causing ice in the upper river, the want of money, soldiers and merchandise for the Indians, he was unable to fit out an expedition, but that he had sent a *courrier* by land to convey to Saint-Ange and to the Spanish commandant the orders of Ulloa for the Spanish troops to return to New Orleans.

Du Terrage writes that the Spanish commandant of Missouri arrived at New Orleans, 9 May, 1769, and announced that the evacuation had

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[The Society wishes to express its thanks to Miss Ysabel Sandoval, Joseph Wheless, Esq., and Professor Winthrop Holt Chenery, for valuable services in the translation of Spanish documents. Mr. Wheless has kindly made translations of a number of important and interesting documents which will be printed in future issues of the Collections.

been made peaceably, and that M. Saint-Ange had taken measures to guard all the posts in spite of the small number of men at his disposal. The date of the departure of the Spanish troop may, therefore, be fixed as about the middle of April, 1769.

As to what the Spanish commandant did to carry out the orders given him, we know little. It is fair to presume that he did not disregard their plain commands. He was told, as we will see later, to build two forts, one on the north and one on the south side of the Missouri river. It is a matter of common knowledge that he did build a fort on the south side of the river, in St. Louis County, where Fort Bellefontaine was established in later years. Aubry, in one of his letters, speaks of the establishment of Missouri, and Du Terrage, in a note to these words, says that the establishment of Missouri is now Saint Charles. And the Spanish Commandant said that Saint -Ange had taken measures to guard *all the posts*, so implying that there were more than two—Saint Louis and the one south of the river. It seems to be a fair inference that the orders were obeyed, and that two forts were built, and that Fort Charles the Third was at the present site of St. Charles. But inferences are unsafe foundations for historical statement.

How thoroughly the work was carried out is somewhat doubtful in view of Aubry's letter to Gen. Haldemand under date 4 January, 1768, in which he says that twenty Spanish soldiers, a sergeant and a *garde-magasin* have revolted, at the Illinois, against their commandant, and even attempted to assassinate him; that after stealing a boat, a quantity of flour and other property belonging to His Catholic Majesty, they have taken refuge at the post of Natchez.

Nor was this Rui's only trouble. In the *Memoire Justificatif*, issued by the planters and merchants of Louisiana after the expulsion of Ulloa on 29 October, 1768, we find the complaint that: "The unfavorable impressions already conceived against them [the Spanish] by the savage nations, which have led not only to insults but to threatening actions against M. *Rici*, the Spanish captain commanding at the Illinois, would array them on the side of the enemy in case of war. While on the contrary, these people are always ready to march with the French soldiers without asking against whom they are going to fight."

And in the same document we find it stated that: "In spite of the opposition of Sieur *Rici*, the Spanish captain sent by M. Ulloa to the Illinois in the capacity of commandant, the traders have gone this year to the [Indian] villages, but in reduced numbers. But this is the last exercise of their expiring privileges, as M. Ulloa has granted to five or six individuals the exclusive trade of that country, which our government held open to general competition."

Captain Pittman (*The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi*, London,1770, p. 16), says: "Don Antonio D'Ulloa arrived at New Orleans about the middle of the year 1766, but refused to take the government of the colony on him until he should have a sufficient armed force to establish his authority. In the beginning of the year 1767, two hundred Spanish soldiers were sent from the Havanna, but these he did not think sufficient to enforce his commands in a country where the Spanish

1st. Out of the 88 men left in the Spanish troops, Captain Don Francisco Rui will take two Sergeants, 6 Commanders, 1 Drummer and 35 men, including one of the 2 Cadets which will make altogether 44 men, and the Second Lieutenant of the troop, Don Fernando Gomez will go with them.

2nd. The expedition will be made in two boats of 24 to 26 oars each, and although it is customary in this country that the troops should guide them, getting a complete set of oars, as they are not accustomed to that kind of work. I have ordered that on each boat 10 oarsmen will go after the troop, as each boat will carry 31 men to row, including the Commanders and the Drummer and 5 or 7 men will remain resting on each boat so that they will take turns in the work, which is very hard at the beginning, especially the first 5 or 6 days as they are not accustomed to it, neither do they know how to row, but in a short time they will become handy and experts in it. This is one of the principal work that the troop will have to do at the Colony, and only the two Cadets will be except from doing this including the Sergeants, and although these latter may be willing to row a while, to relieve the others and to get warm, when it is cold, all the rest of the men will have to row and do each others' work, without any exception of being ranchers or assistants.

3rd. The boats will be in the entire command of the officer who is going in the boat with the troop, and two French officers will go in with the expedition. The families of the married soldiers with their wives, and the Sergeant who is going to guide them will go in the second boat, and he will see that this one will not get far apart from the first boat.

government was held in the utmost abhorrence and detestation; he sent about sixty of these troops to erect two forts, one opposite Fort Bute, on the mouth of the Iberville, and the other on the west side of the Mississippi, opposite the Natches; the remainder were sent in the autumn of 1767 to build a fort at the mouth of the river Missoury; but the commandant was forbid to interfere with the civil government of their settlements in the Illinois country where Mons De Saint Ange continues to command with about twenty French soldiers."

4th. The passengers on board will be a French officer, who will act as engineer, Don Guido Du Fosat,[2] another, Don (here is a blank), Interpreter and expert, who knows the different tribes, a Chaplain Don (here is a blank), who is the Chaplain of the Navy, a Surgeon Juan Bautista Balleau,[3] a carpenter Jose Maria Suares, a mason Jph. Balboa, a stone

[2] The Chevalier Guy de Soniat du Fossat was born in the Chauteau du Fossat in Guienne in France, 17 September, 1727. He entered the French army in 1746, and was made lieutenant the next year. In 1751 he came to Louisiana as lieutenant in the Detached Corps of Marines. He was stationed at New Orleans and married there in 1753 Francoise Clodine, daughter of Maturin Dreux, a worthy ancestor of Charles Dreux, the first confederate officer killed in battle in the war between the States.

The Chevalier du Fossat was appointed captain in 1759, and was sent to the Illinois, where his services as an engineer were in demand, that same year. On 6 June, 1760, Du Fossat was witness to the marriage of Clement de Lor de Treget and Catherine Marin, at the Chapel of Ste. Anne de Fort Chartres. He was recalled to New Orleans in 1761, where he remained in the French service until 1767, when by permission of his government he entered the service of the King of Spain. In 1769 he was made Captain of the Battalion of Louisiana by O'Reilly. In 1772 he retired from active service, and in 1775 he was appointed to the civil position of Alcalde, which he seems to have held until his death in 1794. In 1778 he bought from the Ursuline nuns a plantatlon on the Mississippi below New Orleans, since known as the Villere plantation, where he made his home. It is memorable as the scene of Jackson's victory over the British on 8 January, 1815. M. du Fossat was the author of a *Synopsis of the History of Louisiana from the founding of the colony to the End of the Year 1791*, which was translated and published a few years since by his descendant, Charles T. Soniat, Esq., of New Orleans.

Most of the facts stated above were derived from Mr. Soniat's sketch of the life of his ancestor.

[3] Dr. Jean B. Valleau, a Frenchman from La Rochelle, received from Saint Ange, 2 January, 1768, a grant of land at the southwest corner of Second and Pine Streets. Later, he bought the quarter of the block adjoining on the south, making his property extend along Second Street, from Pine to Chestnut. Why he established himself at St. Louis instead of at the new fort is not known. He died 24 November, 1768, having first made his will which is given in full in Billon's Annals, Vol 1, p. 60. The will was made 23 November, 1768, "in the presence of De Rive, civil and military governor of the Missouri part, being at present in this post of St. Louis."

The original of Dr. Valleau's will should be in the St. Louis Archives, but, if there, it is for all practical purposes inaccessible. The transcript in the Recorder's office shows the name, appearing above as "De Rive," more like De Rui. *St. Louis Archives*, Vol. 3, p. 226.

cutter Jph. Ulaboro, and several apprendices and laborers in this kind of work, a hostler Francisco Lopez.

5th. Each one of them will take their ration of sufficient funds for their maintenance during the trip, and at the same time the boats must be together the whole trip, and try to get along the best way possible avoiding any misunderstandings, so as to keep union, order and harmony.

6th. Care must be taken that the sailing in the mornings will be at daybreak,[4] without leaving this matter to the will of the masters, who always have some excuse to be delayed, and it is necessary to take this precaution until the "Punta Corta"[5] has been passed, and in this way avoid any desertion, which is generally caused by the unpleasant misunderstandings among the people.

7th. Upon passing before the English Forts of "But"[6] on the Ivervila River, and the newly established one at Nat-

[4] M. Robin (*Voyages dans l'Interieur de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1807, Vol. 2, Chap. xiv), gives this account of the methods of travelers on the rivers: "On part régulièrement au point du jour; de deux heures en deux heures on fait un pause pour reprendre haleine; c'est ce qu'on appelle fumer la pipe. Trois fois le jour, au moins, on distribue le filet (mesure de tafia); on déjeûne ordinairement à bord, mais toujours à midi on descend à terre jusqu' à deux heures pour diner et se reposer. Dès qui le bateau est attaché sous de doubles amarres, chacun s'empresse de rassembler le bois pour le feu; on prépare le diner; c'est cochon salé ou du boeuf avec du riz ou du gru (mais concassé); on est aussi toujours approvisionne de biscuit; les maîtres ont en outre de la volaille, et souvent du gibier. Le soir on debarque au coucher du soleil sur un campement près duquel le bateau est en sureté, et ou les engagés peuvent en être tres-près en cas de mauvais temps. Le souper fini, chacun d'eux, se couche autour du feu qu'on a soin d'entre tenir pendant la nuit. Ceux des engagés soigneux ont toujours un peau d'ours et une ou deux couvertures, selon la saison; quelque temps qu'il passe, même dans les plus grands froids, ils ne dorment pas autrement; ce qué est remarquable, ils ne sont enrhumés."

[5] Punta Corta (Point Cut-off) is the Spanish for Pointe Coupée, about twenty-five miles above Manchae, where there was a French settlement.

[6] In December, 1766, the British re-occupied the post at Bayou Manchae. A small stockade was built by a party of the twenty-first regiment (the Scots Fusileers); It was called Fort Bute. In December, 1768, the British evacuated and demolished the fort. It stood at the junction of the Iberville River with the Mississippi. There was a trading station there in 1770 and later.

chez, the boats must not land, but they must pass along, without letting anyone go ashore, but they must wave their flags and the pennants and when the boats are near there, care must be taken that they will not stop before them or in their vicinity.

8th. The two shores of the River up to Ivervila belong to Spain, but from Ivervila on, only the right side belongs to Spain going down on the River, and care must be taken that on this side the stops will be made, and not on the left side, so as not to let the English people get used to enter into the land of Spain.

9th. Every day after having stopped for the evening the rations of bread, meat and soup will be distributed by weight and measure, and the troop or crew will not be allowed to take provisions at their discretion, as it is customary among the French, and any one who does so shall be duly punished.

10th. All disorders and abuses must be avoided, particularly what the French people call Filé, which is to give a quantity of brandy (Aguardiente), to the marine of the troop on the trip or when landing, as this will bring drunkenness and disorder. This liquor is not allowed on board, nor is it included in the rations; the sailor or soldier who is accustomed to use it can bring it for his own account, and even then he is not allowed to drink it to excess.

11th. On Sundays and holydays the Mass will be said on land, before daybreak, and everyone must attend, and when Mass is over, the Salve will be sung as it is done on the war ships of Spain; in the evening after having landed, or on the boat before landing, the rosary will be recited and the prayers; thus trying to keep up all the good Christian customs of Spain.

12th. At the camps good order must be kept and at least two sentinels all night, so as not to be taken by surprise by any savage band. Those going out hunting must avoid going far from the camp, and upon their return their weapons will be examined to see whether they are loaded and ready, and these will be given to two officers at each side of the camp

where the sentinels will be. The guns must be kept covered so as to protect them from the dew.

13th. As there is lack of experience in the things and events that may arise during this trip and which must be taken into consideration, due to the danger that there is on different places on account of the savages, and also on account of the strong current of the River, in these cases the advice of the French officers must be taken, as they know the way exactly, because they have taken the same trip.

14th. The object of this expedition is to keep for His Majesty the royal dominion which belongs to him, and at the same time keep up the friendship and good will of the savages, in the same way as the French have done. This is the principal object, and if for some reason or cause we should not succeed in this purpose we have failed to comply with the wishes of his Majesty. The best thing to do is to use the proper means which are most suitable for the purpose, and to avoid everything that would seem against our purpose, therefore we must have a great deal of prudence, good judgment and consideration, not only toward the Savages, but also with the army and the employees, as a man who is not pleased can in more than one way spoil our plans and intentions, and in order that this will not happen, we must be very considerate and patient with them, as it is known that the man who leads or directs must have more patience and tact than those who obey, and each and every man has a different disposition and character, more so than the officers, and it is hardly expected that these kind of men will control their dispositions to suit those who command, therefore great care must be exercised in this connection.

15th. As per custom and rules of Spain the Government of the place where the army is going cannot be a military government[7] as this is against the rules, and therefore we

[7] Mr. Billon (Billon's Annals, Vol. 1, pp. 55-57) gives from documents formerly in the St. Louis Archives, but which seem now to be lost, extracts from two papers regarding appeals to the civil authority, one by Lieutenant Gomez against a stonemason working at the fort on the southside of the

must not expect that the troops will do what they ought to as an obligation. If things are directed to them in that way they will never do anything, because they are not strictly expected to do it, but with kindness they can be persuaded to do what is needed, more so when they become convinced that they are doing this for some purpose and that they will be paid.

16th. The others of the people who have gone there on a salary will be lonely enough, being in a strange country and away from their people, and if they are not treated right by the superior officers they may get dissatisfied, and for this reason, even if they are not soldiers, attention must be shown to them, and therefore, in these places what we need most is policy and politeness instead of military ruling.

17th. We must exercise a great deal of tact and care with the Savages, as it requires a certain extent of sagacity, craft, and policy, for although they are brutal in their habits and customs, they are exceedingly delicate and sensitive in their dealings with others, and they wish to be considered with a certain distinction and regard, and in this way they limit the dominion of their properties and lands, and we must make them believe that we go into their lands without any claim of right, but because they want us to go.

18th. Upon the arrival of the equipment at Illinois, everything that has been outlined will be carried out, and the French Commander for that place, Mr. St. Ange,[8] will arrange for

river, and another by Mr. Joseph Barelas, a cadet engineer of the garrison of the said fort. In both, Gomez appears to have been at fault. In the latter the witnesses testified: "that in their frequent disputes Gomez was in the habit of applying to Barelas offensive epithets, as horse, mule, animal, etc., which Barelas could not resent, Gomez being his superior officer. They all agreed that Barelas was faithful and trusty in the discharge of his official duties." In this latter document the names of twenty-three men at the fort are given.

Nothing seems to have been done in either of these cases, beyond the taking of testimony.

[8]This was Louis Saint Ange de Bellerive who succeeded Neyon de Villiers as commandant at the Illinois. He surrendered Fort Chartres to Stirling, 10 October, 1765, and removed his headquarters to St. Louis. He remained commandant until 20 May, 1770, when he was relieved by Piernas.

everything with the experience he has had, taking all the documents necessary for the best success.

19th. The necessary instructions have been given to Mr. Guido DeFosat in regard to the work at the Fort[9], as he is acting as engineer, which Fort must be inclosed by a stockade, for the present, 35 to 40 yards front by same width, enough to make within the necessary lodgings for the officers, the troops and the other people. This stockade must be made of wood, expeditiously, and with as little expense as may be possible, although it must be constructed solidly and so that it will be lasting.

[9] A second letter of instructions to Rui was sent by d'Ulloa to St. Ange under seal. Much of it was repetition of the one printed above, but some of the additional matter is interesting:

"M. Saint Ange, an experienced man in handling the savages will give his advice as to what shall be done with them, but as he does not know the object of this establishment, and as there is no need for him to know it, he may suggest that the forts be established in Illinois instead of Missouri, but his views in this matter need not be considered."

"Since this place (*parage*) [Missouri] is totally uninhabited and deserted, it will be advisable to carry from Sainte Genevieve or Pencur [*Pain Court*= St. Louis] in Illinois all that will be needed, unless it is brought from the city" [New Orleans].

"At the mouth of the river [Missouri] two forts must be built, one on one side and the other opposite. The one on the northern part, the upper side, must be the largest, and there the building of the stockade must be begun and the wooden houses erected. As soon as this is finished the work will be started on the lower side, towards the south, where everything that is necessary will be done on a smaller scale; on the upper side twenty-five men will remain in garrison, including two sergeants, two corporals and the drummer; but fifteen men, including two corporals will remain on the lower side; this will be in charge of Lieutenant Don Fernando Gomez, subject to Captain Commander."

"The upper fort will be named 'Don Carlos Tercero' [King Charles the Third], and the other one 'Principe de Asturias, Don Carlos' [The Prince of the Asturias, Don Carlos], which names are very appropriate as they are well known through the Colony."

"The two forts are to be established in Missouri, therefore it will be advisable to keep the good will of the savages; for this purpose it will be wise to discuss with the Commander of the Illinois [Saint Ange] the best way to give these savages presents."

We must remember that Illinois, as the word is here used, lay west of the Mississippi River, and was separated from Missouri by an imaginary line running somewhere between Saint Louis and the Missouri River.

everything with the experience he has had, taking all the documents necessary for the best success.

10th. The necessary instructions have been given to Sr. Guido Dervan in regard to the work at the Fort, as to be acting as engineer, which Fort must be finished by a standard for the present, 35 to 40 yards front by same width, to enable within the necessary lodging for the officers, the troops and the other people. This stockade must be made of wood, extraordinarily, and with as little expense as may be possible, although it must be constructed solidly and so that it will be lasting.

20th. The goods which are sent for presents for the savages, will be distributed in the best manner possible, as Mr. St. Ange may think advisable, but trying to save or reserve some for the future, because if everything is distributed to them at first, it will be very hard to satisfy them later, as they will make trouble because they expect too much.

21st. This distribution of presents must be done in a different way and under different formalities from those exercised by the French, and a memorandum must be kept of the kinds and quantities of articles distributed among each tribe, before the Chiefs and Warriors who must take part in it, and this memorandum must be signed by the Commander who has made the distribution and this statement must be sent to the Commissary's office of the Colony, otherwise credit will not be given to him.

22nd. The same thing must be done with the provisions that are used by the Savages; a certificate must be made and signed by the Commander, so that it can be attached with the expense account.

23rd. In regard to the rations which will be used during the trip, a statement must be made each month, and this must be signed by the Commander, certifying that the statement is correct and that the articles have been used.

24th. The same must be done in connection with the army supplies, only that a separate statement must be made of the powder, ammunition and other supplies. It is fully understood that the troop and marine will not receive any extra powder or ammunition as it was done among the French, and these supplies must not be used, unless for something absolutely necessary and legitimate, as an explanation of its use must be given in the statement.

25th. Any one who wishes to get powder or ammunition for hunting purposes will have it by paying the current price for it, and the amount will be charged to his account, and those who wish to indulge in this pleasure or sport must have

their own guns, as they cannot use the guns of the army for this purpose.

26th. The ammunition and guns for the military service must be kept for this purpose as long as possible as these belong to the Royal Treasury, and when all these are used up, those of the reserved supply must be used in case it is necessary. As something must always be on hand for an unexpected occurrence, the ammunition must be kept in a very high and dry place, so the dampness will not injure the quality of the powder, and care must be taken that the oldest kind of powder is used first, keep the fresh on hand.

27th. A quantity of goods is sent of all kinds for those that will need them, and they can take their pay in goods, and they must understand that these goods are sold to them at the lowest prices, at which prices the goods have been bought here.

28th. Immediately upon arrival of the troops there, they must start clearing the land that has been selected for the construction of the Fort, they must cut the timber and lumber, and after it has been sawed it will have to be put away; the soldiers will do all the work connected with the establishment of the Fort, and they will get besides their pay the laborer's wages, which are generally 4 reales (4 bits), per day, and this will be paid to them in ammunition, guns, or goods that they may need, charging them at reasonable prices.

29th. The ones who are able to work as carpenters or masons, will earn 6 reales (bits), and all the tools will be supplied for them to work with.

30th. While the construction of the Fort is going on, one sentinel will be kept during the day and two by night.

31st. The Savages who go there can also help in the building, and they will be paid in merchandise and provisions at the rate of 4 reales; but it must be stated that these people have to be treated without any strictness, and have to be handled with great consideration and forbearance.

32nd. After the lodging has been provided, a kind of building must be made of lumber, which will be used for making the adobe, and the clay must be selected, and they must deliver these bricks well dried for $2.00 to $3.00 per hundred; at the beginning they will think this is a very low price, but when they get accustomed they will see that the price is right as each man will make about a dollar per day, more so if the clay and the water are near by, and they must take this into consideration that two men will make more than 100 bricks per day.

33rd. At the same time that the bricks are being manufactured the quarry man will continue getting stones for the foundation, and getting large stones for anything that they may be required, and when plenty of these stones are together the walls of the Fort will be started outside of the wooden stockade, so that when it is completed it will be inside.

34th. As the people will not have anything else to do there, they can do a great deal and accomplish very much in the construction of the Fort, as the English people have done in their new establishments just founded at Iberville and Natchez.

35th. After the walls of the Fort are finished the battery will be placed there, and by that time the new orders will have arrived, giving instructions to continue building the Fort in a very solid way, but before doing this, the powder magazine will be built in a corner so that its roof will be protected by the wall, which can be done by making the wall a little higher on this corner than the rest of the wall.

36th. The manner of building the Fort will be the following: The foundation must be of stone without any lime, but cemented with same clay that the bricks are made of; after it has been well mixed and treated it can be spread over the foundation and then two rows of bricks must be laid over it, or if the bricks are not suitable, then the rough stones or rocks can be used so that it will be raised 1½ feet high from the ground, and on this the wall of bricks must be built cemented with

clay. The top of the wall must be finished with stone mixed with the clay, and the finishing course must be ½ foot or a foot high. All of the walls must be finished with a glossy surface using the proper clay for this purpose, on the outside as well as the inside of the building.

37th. It must be understood that since a Fort is going to be built there, the population should increase, as it will be of great help to keep this Fort up; being the garrison of the Spanish, the population must be Spanish, keeping the customs and government of that country. Therefore the workmen brought from Habana must be married and bring their families with them, and steps have been taken so that the marines will also get married, and bring their wives with them; on this subject we shall speak of later on.

38th. In order to succeed, great care must be taken to that end, and everything must be done in favor of the married men and they must be well treated, and it must be attempted in a very prudent way to restrain them from using much liquor. The rules which must be kept will be formed at the beginning of this establishment, and same must be followed on every occasion, because if the rules are not kept right, the result will be that we will have a very disorderly place, and this naturally will spoil our plans, therefore these rules must be right from the start, and they must be strictly obeyed in order to succeed in our undertaking.

39th. Intoxication is a very common fault among the men of the Colony, but among the Spaniards it is an easy matter to overcome it; watching that no disorderly saloons or vicious resorts are allowed, this purpose will be accomplished. Other vice will be corrected by not allowing it from the start, and there are some which are not as general among the Colony as drunkenness, therefore special attention must be given to this matter. The married men must have every consideration, although some may be of lower class and mixed blood, because the first inhabitants of the Colony, who have become rich with time, did not have this good luck at the beginning.

40th. Inasmuch as the money now in use at the Colony belongs to the King, the size and weight must be the same as the money of Castile, which will be given to them before leaving, double, one to be kept and reserved to be used as a model, and the other must be for common use, and from which others can be made there. With this coin they can sell and buy, and the rations can be obtained with them.

41st. After the first stockade Fort has been finished the lands will be distributed among the married people, giving them the nearest to the Fort, and as there is not the caballerias or fanegadas measures which are used in Spain, they can use the square measure which is now used all over the Indies with the understanding that one square is 100 yards (varas), in width or front, and 100 in depth ; 100 squares in front by 10 in depth will be given to each inhabitant or settler, making 100 squares, and this will make 1000 varas (yards), in front and 100 yards for the depth, and these must be marked in such a manner that they must form squares, in regular size. This must be done with great care so that the measurements will be perfectly square, and in that way avoid any misunderstandings and dissatisfaction which may arise in future.

42nd. Between these grants there must be a highway 12 yards wide each, and it must be given to be understood that every owner must fence his property, little by little, and these fences must be 300 yards from the fort on every side of it. Later on different instructions will be given in regard to the population; for the present, the foregoing instructions will be enough.

43rd. At the time the flag of His Majesty is raised on the place where the Fort will be established, the name of the Royal Majesty will be given, in the form which will be mentioned hereafter, and the men in charge of the stone guns (*pedreros*) in the boats and the fusileers will see that different gun-shots will be discharged in honor of the Royal name; and a *procès-verbal* must be made mentioning the day, the hour

and the persons who took place in this establishment, giving their full names, beginning with the Commander and ending with the lowest soldiers and sailors, and the parties who take their family must state how many people compose each family. A copy of this act must be sent to the Government, and the original must be recorded in the new Fort and establishment.

44th. The two main objects in establishing this Fort are, first, to keep the friendship of the savages in harmony with the Colony, and the second to prevent the British neighbors from intruding in the lands and dominions which belong to His Majesty; and to successfully attain this purpose, it is necessary to use the best sagacity, keep up good friendship with the savages, and not give the English any reason for complaint or hard feelings.

45th. In regard to the savages, what they wish is that they should be treated like brothers, without making them the slightest reproach, jest or mockery,and specially no one should offend them about their wives, because they are very sensitive on this point, and they consider this a great offense, even more serious than a civilized Nation would do. Sometimes they go into excess, about drinking or stealing, but this is just when they are drunk, but when they come back to themselves they give the satisfaction and apology asked from them, and do this in the right way. If advantage should be taken of them, they will surely get angry and forget the friendship and harmony that exists with the Colony, and they will become very cruel enemies, and as their revenge is always bloody, it will be impossible to check them, not even with good will. A dissatisfied tribe will always bring more to their party and it always proves fatal.

46th. When they act unreasonably, they will insult and provoke you, and then is the time you must act with great deal of prudence, and try to avoid them, not considering their actions as crimes, but when they have overcome their anger, complaint should be made to the Chief, and this alone will be

the greatest punishment and a more hard one than anything else that could have been said to them at the time they were angry. Privately they are just like beasts, so brutal, and even among themselves they execute the most atrocious acts, but then they must be subdued in the best possible way using the influence of their own people. This is the principal reason why they thould not be allowed to take brandy in that place; they love liquor, but it is against our interest to let them have it.

47th. They are people who like to have lots of things given to them, and they will sell their friendship for anything that is offered for it. They are never satisfied, and things must be given to them every time they come to ask for them, even if it is just a trifle. For this reason we must not give them all we have at once, but something must be reserved in case they call again for presents; this of course is outside of the regular presents that are given to the Nations with whom we are friendly.

48th. As it may be necessary that some of the Chiefs of some tribes come to the Fort, they will be distinguished as it has been the custom heretofore by their wearing the medal of the King. An account must be given to the Government of the Chiefs who attend or are present at the Fort; sending in their names and reason for their coming—that is, of the principal Chiefs. To the lower Chiefs medals will be sent in case that they wish to come to offer their friendship; as they have the old medals that were given them by the French Government, we must continue doing this, so that they will understand that we want to do everything they have been accustomed to, and we do not wish to introduce any novelty among them.

49th. It must be understood that among the Nations which belong to His Majesty no arms or weapons must be used, neither violence exercised; everything must be settled with kind and reasonable words, making them recognize the injustice and unreasonableness of any possible insult, disturb-

ance or thefts executed on their part, and persuade them to give the apology requested, as if they were offended and they would demand an explanation. It is also very important that the tribes that are on the English side shall not be offended or troubled, and we must keep on very good terms with them whenever they come to our territory, but this must be done in such a way that they will not get jealous or distrustful of the British. For this reason we must not allow that the inhabitants in the near-by towns should cross the English borders to have any dealings with the savages living there, but those who would come to our side as visitors or just to change the territory as they frequently do, must be admitted with kindness, watched with caution, and allowed to settle where they please, and in that way try to gain their good will.

50th. It is very important to try and keep peace among the tribes, those who live on the Spanish side as well as those on the English side, because on account of the wars they have among themselves, the insults and misunderstandings that will arise against the subjects of the King will result in the revenge of the unfriendly tribes, therefore great care must be exercised that when there is any dissension among themselves to pacify them and call them to meetings to try to persuade them by making them small presents. If the animosity is on the English side it will be advisable to take steps with the British Chiefs there, so as to have them contribute in a manner to establish the peace, as it is to their own interest.

51st. The best harmony must be kept with the British subjects who live on the opposite side, and avoid anything that can give cause for complaint or resentment, and at the same time watch the preparation that they may be making or the dispositions that are taking so that a report on same will be given, but this must be done in a very careful way, without rousing their suspicions, and we must be sure of the truth in it, so as not to give any trouble to the Government without any reason.

52nd. It is probable that as a sort of attention or tribute of respect, some of the British officers will come to visit our

Fort and the Commander, and to learn of the intentions there and other things pertaining to it; and being such close neighbors, and as we have to live with them, we cannot object to their coming as this is not advisable by any means, because this would show them that we did not trust them and did not wish to have anything to do with them. But as it is wise to have good friendship and harmony prevail, as we can get into their dominions with the same prudence, and watch their acts and learn about their intentions and purposes in their Forts, and it must be known that on their part as well as ours, these Forts are only established with the purpose of maintaining the respect and regard of the Savage tribes, and to avoid any sudden insult from their part, but if the British people should not call on our Fort first, there is no need for us to go on their side.

53rd. The differences arising from insults from one party to the other must be peaceably settled by means of negotiations, either bringing forth the complaint of the insult received, or admitting them without any discussion and persuade them to apologize or to submit to it, as it would be the most proper way; and in this manner there would be no reason for resentment and friendly feelings would prevail.

54th. It must not be permitted that the savages on the English side will come over to the Territory of His Majesty, nor within the neighborhood, but should they insist on doing this, they must be sent away, making them understand that each Nation has its own territory and its own savages with whom to deal, without having to come and talk with the tribes that belong to another monarch or without doing any harm to it. Should they refuse to understand, they must be arrested, using the least possible violence, until a report of the event will be sent to the British Commander, so that he will keep them where they belong and call them back to their own territory, and you will come to an agreement with the Commander that under similar conditions you would do the same with those of the Spanish side in case they would come into their Territory.

55th. Should the British Commander need provisions or other things excepting ammunition, they must be given to him if the provisions can be spared, and allow him to take everything he needs in that line, and they can be sold to him at the cost prices. On the other hand, should the time come when we are also in need of any provisions, these can be asked from the British Commander under the same terms as above.

56th. The Commander of the Fort will select a tribe which lives in the vicinity to help him, and this will be arranged in a very cautious manner without letting other people know it. But he must advise the Governor of the Colony of his selection and this one (the Commander?) must not have the power of dealing with the rest. This is granted so that he will have the privileges as Chief of the place, without breaking the rules, which he must strictly observe, and in that way protect the interest of His Majesty and the fulfilment of his Royal intentions. He will see to the greatest saving in the expenses, and that the orders given him will be observed and fully regarded.

57th. The other employees, without any exception, may likewise trade with the other tribes, provided that this does not debar them from the fulfilment of their duties; because as employees they must not leave their place of residence; in observance of which they themselves can only trade with the adjoining tribes who come to visit the Fort itself to carry on the trade, but through their children or agents they can trade with the more distant tribes, provided that it be not in forbidden articles; but the Commander can trade only with the one (tribe) which he shall choose. And the employees are allowed to trade, because, seeing that it is permitted to the merchants of New Orleans to continue to profit by the convenience of trading without having the merit of aiding in forming the settlement and maintaining the friendship of the savages, it would not be just to deprive of it those who are the instruments for facilitating this same trade for others. But it is understood that the articles belonging to His Majesty are not to be exploited in any way, as was done by the French, nor even by means of loans to be restored in goods of the same

sort; and they can only use them by purchasing at current prices on account of salaries due in cash, or else (by paying) in skins to the satisfaction of the Keeper of the Stores and at the price there current.

58th. The tariff of prices must be strictly observed without any exception as per notes given at the end of these instructions, and the prices cannot be altered in any way whatsoever, and should any one do it, their goods will be taken away from them and they will have to give an account of their action to the Government, so that the Government will take the necessary steps giving them the deserved punishment. They will be punished by depriving them of the right to sell their goods for the period of 4 years, and a third part of the goods will be confiscated, distributing half of this third part among the orphans of the Colony and the other half among the Hospitals.

59th. As the Spanish measures and weights must be used in all cases, their equivalents will be figured out in the French ones, so that there will be no difference in the dealings and articles which are traded for different ones.

60th. No person will be allowed to enter into the territory and deal with the nations in the establishment, without having a signed license from the Government, and if anyone should attempt to do so, he will be detained until an account of his action is given and the result of it is heard, and they must not be allowed to sell or exchange anything even in the establishment, and he cannot go back with the goods, as he may try to introduce them in another part, or he may sell them among the tribes of the British side.

61st. The introduction of brandy is strictly forbidden, not only among the savage tribes, but also in the establishment, and the quantity that must be brought for necessary purposes will have special license; but any quantity that is brought in excess of the quantity mentioned in the license will be thrown into the River by the store-keeper, the assistant surgeon and the controller, and these parties must send a cer-

tificate to the Government of the brandy that has been thrown away. Any person who shall bring in excess of such quantity will be fined for each pint of brandy extra $25.00, and half of the amount collected will be turned over to the orphans and the hospital and the other half will be retained by the Commander at the establishment.

62nd. The boats which carry things to trade can pass ahead without landing or making a declaration of the goods they carry, but they must show the invoice for these goods and get a license to go through, and should there be any articles which are not allowed to be introduced they must be taken away and divided in half as stated above.

63rd. The introduction of rifles, ammunition, powder or any of such articles among the tribes that have not been accustomed to use same must not be permitted, neither a larger number or quantity than that specified in the license shall be brought among the tribes who handle arms. The contracting parties will only bring what they agree to bring.

64th. If any one of the dealers would like to live or keep store in the establishment, he must submit to the laws and customs to be kept in the matter, which will be issued for his information and knowledge, and if he should agree to keep same, a site will be allotted him out side of the Fort, and this site or place must be 30 yards in front and just as many deep; but great care must be taken that these people will not live with their own negresses and mulatto slaves, and they must be made to understand that even if they should be of a higher class, if they carry this action for over two years, they must get married or else they will have to go away from there, and they will not be permitted to reside there for any length of time. This disposition is a very important one to try and stop this horrible vice which is now prevailing in the Colony.

65th. When the time has expired for a part of the army, His Majesty must be advised of this, and orders will be issued so that a license will be given to those whose term is ended, and they must be persuaded to stay and establish themselves there, and some land will be allotted to them, and they can

take possession of it with the understanding that should they not be married in a year they shall lose the right to the land, and will have to leave it.

66th. In case that the people who establish themselves there, and their term is almost over and they have not been married because there are no women, the Government must be advised of the fact so that steps will be taken to bring the orphan girls from the Colony, or bring some Florida girls from Habana, where there are plenty of nice girls without means, and they are white and of very good morals.

67th. It must be understood that as to the settlement, this must be outside of the Fort, and as near as possible, but there must always be a space of 300 yards between one and the other; and at the back of the houses a stockade must be built with points, which will be repaired every year at their own expense, and in this way prevent the savages from making some sudden entry at night and surprise them. Should the land not permit this to be made, then a ditch must be opened ten yards wide and 5 to 6 deep, leaving an entrance through the gate, which must be the only one, and this one must be carefully watched.

68th. The first thing that must be attended to must be the manner of living with the least inconvenience possible. Seeds for all kinds of vegetables and fruit will be brought, and as soon as that place is reached, two soldiers and one of the sailors will be put to work at planting a large vegetable garden or several small ones; one for the Commander and officers and the other for the rest of the employees and office clerks, another one for the marine, and another one for the army, which must be taken care of until they are better settled in the establishment and each one must do in their own house what they like.

69th. As the hunting there is very good, there being wild cattle, deer and all kinds of birds, three or four savages must be kept there for hunting purpose, and the expenses will be paid by the people who get the benefit of their hunting; two

men who are experts at shooting will go with the savages, so that these will get accustomed to handle the arms, and later on they can go by themselves. This plan was carried out by the French and the British are doing it now.

70th. This hunting will not prevent them from bringing from the nearest place some domestic animals. For that purpose the boat has been ordered left there for some time to carry all that may be needed.

71st. Corn fields must be sown immediately, large enough for the demand of the place, as everybody must have enough to eat, and hunger must not be known there; and later on when the establishment is on solid basis some wheat will be sown in a common way (everybody helping), and some other grains for the common benefit.

72nd. At the beginning of this establishment there is much to be done, but it is a great relief when we realize that just by using the gun and powder we can get enough meat to eat, and that the lands are fertile and everything is produced in abundance, because the climate is so good and the soil is rich, and also there is a great consolation to know that the climate is healthy and suitable for the people, which was not the case when the first Spaniards arrived to build the establishments of the Indies, which were the beginning of the large dominions which Spain possesses now, and all this must be taken into consideration, and we must be greatly encouraged by the circumstances, so that we will succeed in our undertakings.

73rd. The principal means of keeping this establishment will be in the settlement which must be steady and formed in the manner above stated, because upon this depends the subsistence of the militia, and therefore measures have been taken so that the largest possible number of families will come in order to have the best results. As the Company has some surplus capital left over from the amount used for the gratifications of recruits, which in this country there is no use in giving, this capital naturally would have to be returned to the Royal Treasury, but this money can be used for another

purpose, and the Captain will inform the sergeants and corporals and the soldiers who are ready to go, that if they wish to marry before they leave or to do so on the voyage with the Acadians, and after they are married to bring their wives, a dower will be given to them in proportion to the surplus money that there is on hand for gratifications. The sergeant will be given 50 pesos, the corporal 40 pesos and to a soldier 30 pesos, so that with this money they can buy whatever furniture is most needed for their houses, and they will also be allotted some land so that they can cultivate it, and they will be allowed to work it during the days in which they are not on duty, and they can also work on their land when there is nothing urgent for them to do at the establishment; as it may be necessary that they will have to gather their crop, they will be allowed to make arrangements with some of their comrades so they will take their places while the crop is being gathered. Each one will live with his wife in the house that they build on their land, provided he will return on the days that he is on duty, and he must not fail to keep any obligation he may have.

74th. The money mentioned above will be divided among the three different companies; and as it is quite small, not over 100 pesos, this amount will not be enough to go around to all the people who may wish to get married, therefore the dower will be paid to them later on; and this dower will be paid upon receipt given and signed by the Sergeant, soldier or corporal, and by the girl who is going to marry, and also the signature of the Priest must appear, certifying that he was present at the time of the payment.

75th. If during the trip someone should take very sick, and the surgeon would advise that he be left at some place where he could be taken good care of, this must be done, and he must be left either in the German or the Acadians' place, or in any other place where there is a good population; and if it would be necessary another man can be engaged to take his place at the oar.

76th. There is hardly any piece of land that is not flooded when the water rises, and the settlements of the Colony are protected by the precaution of levees raised at its borders and which are made of earth, and notice must be taken of same when passing by, so that this same thing will be carried on at the establishment, and this must be one of the first things done at the Fort, so that when the river rises due precautions shall have been taken and the farms and other places protected.

ADDITION.

Should it happen that on account of sickness or other cause some of the most important parties should be missing, that is to say, the parties who are familiar with keeping the accounts of the expenses, the engineers, superintendent or some other one, the Commander, the Governor of the Establishment, will select among all the rest a person who will act for the one missing. And if the party missing should be the Superintendent, great care must be taken to appoint some one who is responsible for the position and who will take great deal of care of the interest and property of His Majesty; and he will receive the corresponding amount for the time that he acts as substitute, which compensation will be one hundred pesos per year, and this place can be given to a good honest sergeant, corporal or soldier who has a good handwriting and is of recognized honesty. If the party missing should be the engineer, the work will be done as ordered by the master masons and carpenters, according to their ability. When there is no mason, the carpenter or smith will do his work, the workmen of each of these will be appointed by the Commander, according to the best skill that he would find in them.

Balize, March 14, 1767. (There is a rubric).

ANTONIO ULLOA.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR.

By Charles A. Krone.

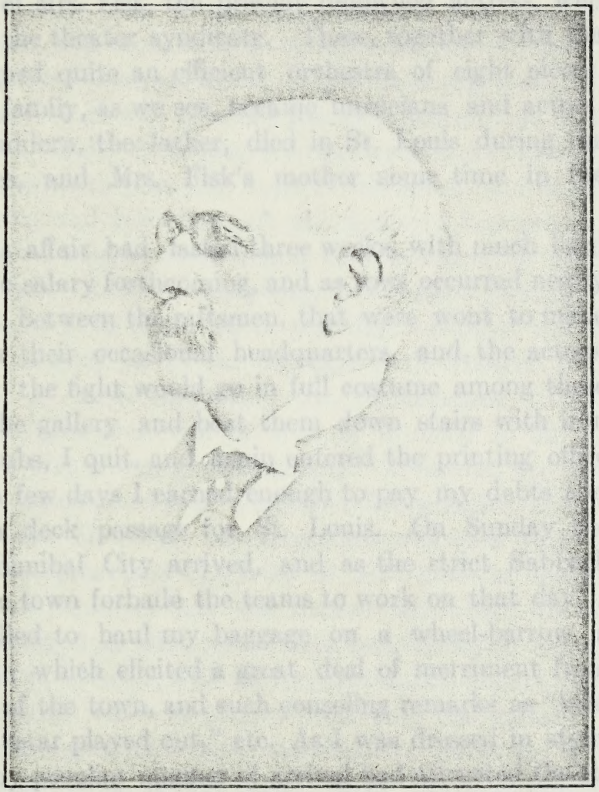
(Read at a Meeting of the Society, 17th November, 1905.)

Continued from Vol. II, No. 7.

Act Two. Scene One.

My Second Act begins with a failure that served to give me a foretaste of what I was to expect unless I exercised considerable care and shrewdness. A Yankee comedian who had leased the Athenaeum Theater at Keokuk, Iowa, offered me an engagement to play the juvenile parts. As I was most anxious to try my talents abroad I accepted at once and left by steamboat for Keokuk. On my arrival, I saw by the posters that instead of the Yankee, Harry McCarthy and his beautiful sister, Marion, had charge of the theater, and that the aforesaid Yankee, whose name I have forgotten, had departed for parts unknown. After much inquiry, however, I was informed by a boy that he was lodging at the Hibernia House, on the levee, where I found him in the bar just about sober enough to stammer some apologies and to direct me to McCarthy's quarters, who he said had treated him in a very unprofessional manner. I found McCarthy who was glad to meet me, and being short of people offered me an engagement on condition that I would play a very long part that night. I consented, and as it was two o'clock and I should have but four hours to complete my task, I procured lodgings and set to work at once. At six I had memorized the part; played it to satisfaction that night and was duly engaged.

The music of the theater was rendered by Richard Maddern and his seven children, as follows: Richard Maddern, Jr., now a leader in New York; Henry Maddern, at present leader at the Century Theater; Mary Maddern, who now is traveling with her niece, Mrs. Fisk; Emma Maddern, the



Photograph by Rosch.

AUGUST WALDAUER.

Born 6 Jan. 1826. Died 9 Sept. 1899.

well-known soubrette of former years at DeBar's theater, Luisa Maddern, at present the wife of Si Gates, who for many years has faithfully filled the position of master stage carpenter at the Olympic Theater; Emilie Maddern, who became the wife of William Hodges, actor, and Lizzie Maddern, the mother of Mrs. Fisk, the present renowned actress, who is opposing the theater syndicate. These, together with the father, formed quite an efficient orchestra of eight pieces. The entire family, as we see, became musicians and actors. Richard Maddern, the father, died in St. Louis during the early sixties, and Mrs. Fisk's mother some time in the eighties.

After this affair had lasted three weeks, with much hard work and no salary forthcoming, and as rows occurred nearly every night between the raftsmen, that were wont to make this theater their occasional headquarters, and the actors, who during the fight would go in full costume among these roughs in the gallery and beat them down stairs with iron bars and clubs, I quit, and again entered the printing office where in a few days I earned enough to pay my debts and purchase a deck passage for St. Louis. On Sunday the steamer Hannibal City arrived, and as the strict Sabbath laws of the town forbade the teams to work on that day, I was compelled to haul my baggage on a wheel-barrow, a performance which elicited a great deal of merriment from the youths of the town, and such consoling remarks as "bust up actor," "star played out," etc. As I was dressed in style, no doubt my peeuliar manner of arrival had attracted the attention of some of the officers of the boat, for before long a boy came and informed me that I was free to come up into the cabin if I pleased. I thanked him very kindly and told him that as I had paid for my way as a deck passenger I preferred to travel as such. During the night I became very hungry and sleepy, and as all the bunks were occupied I looked about for a resting place until I discovered a huge pine box that had been shoved into a corner of the stern of the boat, upon which I stretched out and soon slept like a lord. About four o'clock in the morning I was awakened by

the loud laugh of one of the deckhands, who shouted to the rest: "Here's a fellow sleeping on this corpse, and he's gamey, too." The corpse was removed to the shore and I withdrew to the stern watching the current as it rolled southward and wondering where my next venture would be.

After a short stay in St. Louis, I heard that a very fine new theater had been built in connection with the Odd Fellows Hall in Dubuque, Iowa. I had no engagement, but I determined to go and take the risk of procuring one, and so, about the middle of August, I entered the town and found that the company was full, went to the hotel, paid $1.25 for my lodging and breakfast, all the money I had except 25c with which I bought tobacco and went in search of another printer's job. As work was plenty I was soon clicking type to the tune of $2.50 to $3.00 per day. During the third week I was sent for by the manager of the theater to take the place of man discharged for drunkenness. There I played with the same run of stars as is usual in the great cities, and with a very good company. I received my salary, was very much liked and altogether felt satisfied and very comfortable. However, my happiness was soon to be dispelled. The great financial crisis of 1857 burst in upon us, and it was rumored that the theater was about to close, when I received an offer from Uncle Jack Huntley, manager of the Peoria Theater, with an increase of two dollars weekly on my salary, which at present was only ten dollars. As things were beginning to look uncertain in Dubuque, where numerous suffering miners made daily demonstrations of noisy parades, bearing banners on which were inscribed: "We want bread and will have it!" I concluded to remove my quarters to Peoria, where I hoped with a change of locality I would also find a change of condition. My manager was loath to let me go and offered to raise my salary two dollars, but I declined as I had given Uncle Jack my word, and as I said before I fondly dreamed that affairs would be better in Peoria. I was mistaken. After traveling all night, I arrived in Peoria at ten o'clock, and consequently proceeded at once from the depot to the theater, where I found the or-

chestra rehearsing the music of Macbeth, and Mr. and Mrs. Jas. Wallack waiting to rehearse the piece in which they were to open that night. Uncle Jack seemed glad to see me as I had been spoken of very favorably by traveling stars, and introduced me to the members of the company, the principals of which were experienced and good actors. Uncle Jack, well known to the St. Louis people of that day from his connection with Ludlow & Smith's old St. Louis Theater, though but a fair actor was a thoroughbred prompter and stage manager of the ancient regime. But he had the bad habit of indulging in periodical sprees, during which period he would be lost to his company, his family, his friends and to the world in general, until after a painful search he would be found convalescing in some doggery without coat, hat or boots. A similar spree took place at this period, his wife managing the business during his absence. In a few days he returned, was reinstated, and a more quiet, honest, and gentle old man than Uncle Jack would be hard to find.

The fatal results of the financial crisis became more apparent each day. Bank failures followed each other in a rapid succession, so that notes and bills that were good one hour were mere waste paper the next. Business became so bad that in spite of the splendid acting of the Wallacks in Macbeth, Shylock, etc., followed by Matilda Heron and Sothern and George Jamison, that after four weeks the theater was compelled to close. I received my salary and had twenty dollars saved, but when I came to use my money I found it all worthless excepting a few dollars, as the banks whose notes I held had failed that morning. This was Monday afternoon; previous to this they had been all right. After paying my board I had just two dollars left, and as I had contracted an engagement with Aug. Waldauer who was going to open DeBar's St. Louis Theater for the winter season in two weeks, I was left without means to pay my railroad fare to St. Louis. Uncle Jack very kindly offered to get me a steamboat pass, saying: "You know, my dear boy, it is not my fault that the banks are all breaking. The money was as good as gold when I gave it to you." He got me the

pass, but as the boat did not run on schedule time, after laying awake for two nights watching the river, I gave up the project. There was no time to be lost, for I had to be in St. Louis for rehearsal. In this dilemma a hard up printer whose board I had paid came to my rescue by procuring a railroad ticket from his employer who was indebted to him, and so I was enabled to pack up my traps and return to St. Louis once more, poor in wealth but rich in experience.

The company that had been organized to play the fateful season of 1857, at the St. Louis Theater, was composed of the following male members: J. A. Leonard, lead; C. A. Morton, heavy; T. A. Hall, low comedian; J. B. Fuller, character old man; R. French and Charles Krone, respectable utility; J. C. Stewart, farce old man; J. M. Ward, second heavy; L. Booth and Chas. Hase, general utility. Waldauer and Fuller were the lessees and managers. J. B. Fuller, stage manager; G. T. Collins, acting manager, and A. Pozzoni, treasurer.

Mr. and Mrs. Florence were the opening stars, and their repertoire consisted in numerous one-act commediettas and farces. These actors were among the first that inaugurated that species of short and sketchy work, which up to the present day has developed into what is known as the Vaudeville Show, the rage for which was to gradually take possession of the stage to the exclusion of the more serious English Drama. Barney Williams and wife and Dan Bryant had adopted a similar course and remained in it unto the end, whereas Florence, too good an actor to stop at these trivialities, later developed into a comedian capable of executing the best work that the language affords. This new departure was hailed with general delight by the public and Paddy Miles' Boy, Shandy Maguire, The Yankee Girl, and the Tragedian drew full houses. Another pioneer of the new sensational dispensation appeared in the person of Frank Mayo, in a play called "The Poor of New York," a production that shifted the blood-curdling events and desperate characters of the old pirate and sailor melodrama into the garb and vernacular of modern naturalism, and which sustained a run of one week

to good business. During the latter part of his engagement he played Hamlet, as if anxious to show the public he possessed higher powers than those exerted in the tramp he had delighted them with. He was a fine all-around actor that had thrown aside his English classics for the maudlin sensationalism that was beginning to prevail and well it paid him, for in later years he made a fortune with his excellent acting in his "Davy Crocket," but in an unhappy moment his old love for the legitimate revived in his soul, he produced the tragedy of Macbeth in splendid style, both as regarded scenery and actors, took it on the road, lost all he had gained and returned to "Davy Crocket," which did not fail him.

Business on the whole, however, was bad, and many were the stars that failed to draw the expense; and several members of the company had already left for home and were replaced by others. The winter advanced and the depression and misery increased, and although the St. Louis theater was the only legitimate house in the city, Wood's Theater having been closed to make way for Lupe's saloon and bowling alley, the season threatened to be a losing one. Before long salaries were in arrears and general discontent prevailed among the company. However, the confidence reposed in Aug. Waldauer, whose reputation for honesty and integrity was indisputable, his business tact, and, above all, his generous and even disposition while he was about to lose everything, prevented the business from coming to a close at once. He paid out the money as fast as it came in, and he was resolved to carry through the season at all hazards.

Mr. Jas. Starks, a favorite New York actor, and a personator of Falstaff, was engaged and expected to replenish the treasury. He came after being duly announced for the Merry Knight in the Merry Wives of Windsor and Henry the Fourth. He played the part well and with a good company to support him, yet notwithstanding the financial result was a dismal failure.

Mrs. Mary Farren, another star of hope, was engaged with great expectations. This lady, though an actress of superior tragic endowments, was likewise a clever exponent of higher

English comedy characters. She had been the leading lady for a lengthy period in the stock company of the old theater under Ludlow and Smith's management, and had made herself admired and respected through her dignified and exemplary social character, as well as her genuine artistic ability. And to this very day the old theater-goers of that period, while speaking of that time, never fail to mention her with reverence and affection. A tall and slender figure, a face rather small, of dark complexion and expressive of dignity and simple kindness when in repose, a profusion of dark brown hair which crowned the small head, and a peculiar flute-like tone of voice, were the principal personal attractions of this lady. She was the mother of severa' children, one of whom, the daughter, she had brought with her on this occasion and who played in the after-piece.

Our expectations of this engagement were also disappointed. The Hunchback, Wrecker's Daughter, Lucretia Borgia, and other plays of her repertoire in which she excelled were produced without any signal effect upon the treasury. During her engagement a benefit for the poor was announced for November 28th, 1858, on which occasion she appeared as Mary Tudor, in the play of that title, to be followed by the roaring farce of the Family Jars, in which Sol Smith, the veteran manager appeared as old Dolph, a favorite part of his and in which he was very funny, and the farce of the Rough Diamond, in which Mrs. Farren's daughter appeared as Margery. On this occasion I saw Sol Smith act for the first time and the last, and to my knowledge it was also his last appearance on any stage. Venerable old Sol, "Methinks I see him now" with his dark complexioned, long and square face ornamented with little side whiskers, and the deep furrows and indentations that told in living letters the history of a long life and struggle with care and frustrated hopes, and the calm, benignant smile which also told of the well-won victory. He was very hard of hearing in later years and would speak as loudly to those that conversed with him as though they were afflicted in a like manner. The last time I saw him was while standing in the

lobby of the dress circle to view a play in which I had no part. While a very quiet scene was going on he came up to me, and placing his mouth quite close to my ear shouted: "I received a letter from Sol to-day. He is in Liverpool, England, and doing first rate." Sol was his youngest son who had adopted the stage, and this news was proclaimed loud enough for the entire audience to hear. All turned around to see and smiled or laughed, for he was generally known. However, he went on: "I saw you play Master Walter last week and I was very much pleased. You keep on that way young fellow!" He was going to say more, when DeBar came out of his office and took him by the arm to lead him away. "I was just telling Krone about ——" he replied, while DeBar was drawing him towards his office and said: "Yes, yes, I know," and turning to me he remarked: "Egad, he thinks he's whispering." What the result of this benefit was I do not know, but Mrs. Farren's engagement was not a financial success for us. In later years when I had advanced to the position of leading heavy man I played everything belonging to that line of business with this lady. The last time I saw her was after the abolition of the stock companies. I was walking down Broadway when I was called by my name, and on turning around beheld Mrs. Farren, grown older and somewhat stouter, but as cheerful and kindly as ever. She was with a traveling company playing at the Olympic, and she was engaged to play the old woman. She was delighted to see me and to hear that I had been in the same company with one of her sons while in New York. She departed this life some eight or ten years ago, and none of the children have ever reached the eminence of their mother.

The week that followed Mrs. Farren's engagement was inaugurated by Mr. and Mrs. Wallack in the tragedy of Macbeth with the original music by Locke, who is considered the father of the English opera. Since the abolition of the stock companies this classic music has been omitted, but in former days it would have been considered sacrilege to do

the piece without it. Mr. Wallack was considered by many to be of the Macready school and a clever imitation of that actor. As I never saw Macready I have no opinion in the matter, but if the average intelligent auditor can be instructed, moved and pleased almost to exaltation by an actor in such diverse parts as Macbeth and Fagin the Jew in Oliver Twist, Werner in Byron's tragedy of that name and Benedict in Much Ado About Nothing, Cassius in Julius Caesar and the Man in the Iron Mask and Mercutio in Romeo and Juliet, I should judge that man to be an actor of a very high order, and that Mr. Wallack certainly was. Mrs. Wallack, though plain in features and simple and unostentatious in her style, nevertheless possessed a dignified stage appearance, strong emotional power and versatility as was proved in her excellent renditions of Lady Macbeth and the low street waif, Nancy Sykes. All these aforementioned plays were produced, but the box office receipts hovered between an occasional paying house and a dead loss. In this cheerless manner the business labored on for some weeks, when we were startled with the news that our suffering and anxiety were to end, as the management had engaged the famous "Ronsani Ballet Troupe," who were touring the country in triumph. This troupe consisted of one hundred female dancers, and it was boasted to contain not only the best talent but the most beautiful women of every nation in the world, and but two male dancers. This was joyful news, and the management called a meeting of the company, when it was resolved that the actors should give up their engagements on the arrival of the troupe, and that all arrears should be settled as fast as the money came in. Thus the management would be relieved of the expense the company entailed, the actors receive their money, and all parties satisfied. I alone was retained to play some small parts that were necessary to explain the plots of the different ballets. On the morning of the arrival of this troupe, on entering the theatre to rehearse my part I found the stage filled with numerous wardrobe trunks and huge boxes containing

properties and show bills, and upon these a host of care-worn, travel-tired and slovenly-attired women were either seated or stretched out and sound asleep, while some were busy opening the coffers and getting out the necessary costumes for the night, and others dressed in short ballet skirts and decollette waists, were getting their legs in trim by high kicks or gyrating like a top. A look convinced me that the assertion made in regard to the good looks of the party was not an idle boast, for in spite of their present dejected looks, their features and their shapes, together with their quiet demeanor, betokened that these girls were no amateurs on a picnic but routined and educated performers and of various nations also. I found the manager, who, from his dialect and appearance, seemed to be a Hollander, and I stated my business, whereupon he introduced me to one of the lady high-kickers, who led me aside and in a dialect which I could not understand, tried to instruct me in what I had to do. Finally, after much dumb show and murder of the King's English, I discovered that I was to carry a huge wreath on a cushion, speak some lines to the girls before a certain dance, and at the conclusion deliver the wreath to the girl who proved to be the victor, that is, to herself, and then go home.

Night came and the house was crowded and the audience delighted, so were the actors, several of whom were paid off the next day and sent home rejoicing. The ballet, I think, was called "Faust," in five long acts, during which not a word was spoken excepting the few lines I delivered at the commencement; and yet, the audience sat quietly and delighted during these performances, and for six weeks filled the house, and that, too, when the city did not contain one-third of its present population. I am no judge of this sort of entertainment, but many of the French people who have a natural taste for this art, and who had travelled on the Continent, and Waldauer himself, who was a judge in these matters, said that it was the grandest affair of the kind that ever came to the city, and placed it in line with the Keller

Troupe that also has never been surpassed nor any attempt made to repeat it.

Among others, a ballet entitled "Robert Le Diavolo," was produced or rather danced. The actors were all paid off and I received my salary regularly every week, but the back pay was still due. Every week I received a new part of a magician or a red demon a la Mephistopheles, in which from beneath the cellar I was impelled by a 200 pound counterweight, and shot, like from a cannon, through a star trap five feet high above the level of the stage, where, spreading out my bat wings in the glare of red fire and brimstone smoke, I would utter the conventional demoniacal ha! ha! ha! before delivering my speech. During the last week of this most successful engagement the Martinetti Troupe, a company of French Pantomimists, were announced, and I was retained for another term of four weeks for the same work I had done in the ballets. Waldauer paid me my back salary, amounting to some sixty or seventy dollars in new silver half dollars, which I tied up in my handkerchief and hurried home as fast as I could for fear that I might lose or be robbed of my treasure. The Martinetti Troupe was the successor of the old Ravel Troupe, of which Gabriel Ravel, the world-renowned pantomime clown was the founder. This troupe of French pantomimists, that played pantomime as Frenchmen only can, were in the habit of finishing the season with a two or three weeks' engagement. They were considered the best of their class, and their plays were very unlike the silly, flatfooted English buffooneries we have had since, for they not only excited laughter but gave a very pleasant insight into the manners, customs and dress of the French soldier and peasant, who were the principal subjects on which their plots were founded. The traps, tricks and transformation machinery were all made by the members of the troupe, who were also good mechanics. As soon as they arrived at the theatre all the male members at once put on their overalls and the conventional French blouse and set to work sawing, hammering

and arranging the scenes for the night's performance. Blondine, the famous Niagara rope walker, was of this party. The Ravel Family, numbering several members, the Martinetti Brothers, Dubouchet and a corps of dancers. Gabriel Ravel had either died or retired on account of old age, and his worthy successor, Phil. Martinetti, with the best talents of the former troupe, had reorganized this present institution under the name of the Martinetti Pantomime Troupe. They gave the same class of entertainment as of old, such as Masoulm the Night Owl, Jeanette and Jeanot, The Recruit, Jocko the Brazilian Ape, the Village School, the Skaters of Wilna, all of which were well performed and to large and admiring audiences. For the space of four weeks nearly every night as soon as I was through with my part I hurried in front to witness these exhibitions, which I considered an excellent school for an actor and to enjoy a hearty laugh. This troupe, in my opinion, ranked with the Kellers and the Rouzani, and was the best of its class I had seen until then or ever since.

The receipts of this engagement and that of the Rouzani Ballet enabled Waldauer to pay the debts incurred with the employes of the theatre, but it was said that he had lost everything that he possessed. I do not know the particulars of the outcome, but I never heard any one complain, and all that had come in contact with him were prodigal in praise of his conduct. And it could not well be otherwise, for he was a gentleman according to the best definition of the word, an artist, a translator from the German of some of the finest and most successful plays that have graced the American stage during the last fifty years; plays that have made reputations and fortunes for certain stars, and for which he received merely a beggarly compensation and ingratitude, Among his many works we have the Cricket, Little Barefoot. Lorely, The Pearl of Savoy, The Organ G nder and His Child, A Glass of Water and Griseldis, all of which, except the last, brought hoards of money to the stars, and less to him than is paid to-day for as many vaudeville sketches.

Besides, I am told by those who were intimate with him that the world at large would never know of his private charities unless told so by the recipients. Taken all in all he was a man whose influence in or out of the theatre was for the good, the true and the beautiful, and I rejoice to have been connected with him for many years in that historical institution known as DeBar's Theatre, and that I shall have occasion to speak of him again.

(*Continuation to follow.*)

DEATH OF DON CARLOS DE VILLEMONT.—DIED—At Arkansas, universally regretted, on Saturday the 9th inst. Don Carlos de Villemont, aged 56 years, formerly commandant of the garrison at the Post of Arkansas, belonging to his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, until the session of Louisiana to the U. States. His complaint was the Hydrothorax, or Dropsy of the Chest, which after a short but painful illness, terminated his existence. A wife and numerous family are left to deplore the loss of a kind husband and an affectionate father; and a large circle of acquaintance, to whom he was endeared by the general suavity of his manners and his unblemished character, will long remember him as an upright man, a social friend and cheerful companion.

St. Louis Enquirer:

SEPTEMBER 20, 1823.—De Villemont was commandant at the Post of Arkansas from the year 1794. He was a son-in-law of Joseph Baugy, *père*, of Kaskaskia, who later removed to Arkansas Post.

SAINT LOUIS LAND OWNERS IN 1805.

Among the records of the St. Louis Circuit Court there is a paper brown with age and tender in the folds, entitled "*Etats General des Evaluations des Proprietees fonsiaires de la ville de St. Louis.*"

The paper is written in the beautiful, but somewhat labored, handwriting affected by most of the educated creoles of St. Louis in the early days.

The words "*de la ville de,*" in the title, are interpolated in a handwriting of more American appearance in place of the original "*du Dct. de*"—of the district of, which have been deleted.

The headings are, *Nomie des Proprietaires; Lota non Etablice,* with sub-headings, *En ville* and *Hor de ville; terrins Etablis; moulins a van; moulins a Eau,* and *Evaluation de $ Fortes.* It will be observed that the writer has somewhat anticipated the teachings of President Roosevelt in the matter of mis-spelling.

The paper bears no date, but from internal evidence it may be indubitably assigned to the year 1805. It is, therefore, the first tax-list made up under the American domination, and represents the first land tax ever imposed in the limits of the present State of Missouri.

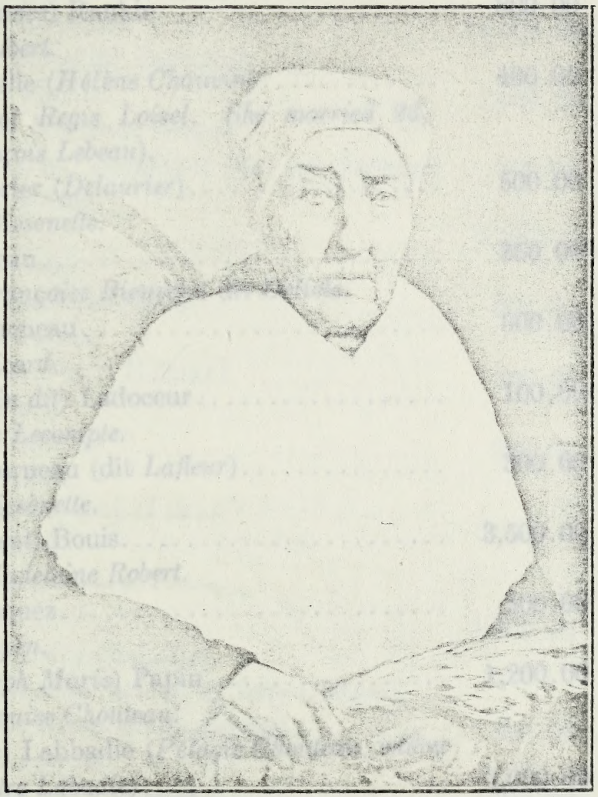
The names of the proprietors[1] and the "evaluations" are as follows:

[1] The names as they appear in the tax list are here printed in Roman type; the corrections and additions in italics. Since the list comes near to being a complete enumeration of the male citizens of St. Louis at that time, it has been thought desirable to supplement the list by adding the names of the wives. These appear in italic type under the names of the husbands. It is not attempted to set forth the situation as it existed in 1805 with regard to the women; some named had died prior to that year, some were married later.

Monsieurs—

Louis Labaume (*Labeaume*)	$1,000.00
1st, *Adelaide Dutemple.*	
2d, *Susanne Dubreuil.*	
Ante, (*Antoine*) Roi	3,000.00
1st, *Félicité Vasquez.*	
2d, *Marie Louise Papin.*	
Louis Boissis (*Boissy*)	300.00
Marie Biset.	
Joseph Salois	250.00
Thérèse Desautels.	
St. Gemes Bauvais (*Gemenin Beauvais*)	500.00
Placide Aubuchon.	
Jacques Lajeunesse	250.00
Hélène Vasseur.	
Nicolas Lecompte	300.00
Catherine St. François.	
Jce. (*Jacques*) Clamorgan	3,500.00
Jh. (*Joseph*) Brazeau	4,000.00
Marie Delisle dit *Bienvenu.*	
Nicolas St. Andre	100.00
Thérèse (*Indian half breed*).	
Jean St. Andre	100.00
Bte. Hortesse (*Jean Baptiste Ortes*)	500.00
Elizabeth Barada (*she was born at Vincennes in 1764, came to St. Louis in 1768, and died here in 1868.*)	
Pre (*Jean Pierre*) Chouteau	6,000.00
1st, *Pelagie Kiersereau.*	
2d, *Brigitte Saucier.*	
Cerré père[2] (ou succession)	2,500.00
Catherine Giard.	
Pascal Cerré	1,000.00
Thérèse Lami.	
Antoine Soulard	3,000.00
Marie Julie Cerré.	

[2] Jean Gabriel Certé died 4 April, 1805; his wife died 21 July, 1800.



(From portrait by W. T. Hinchy, 1867.)

MADAME ELIZABETH BARADA ORTES.

Monsieurs—

André Landreville $2,500.00
Marie Louise Robert.

Emilien Yosty (*Yosti*) 3,500.00
Theotiste Durand.

Jacques (*James*) Rankin 800.00
Marie Hubert.

Veuve Loiselle (*Hélène Chauvin*) 400.00
(*Widow of Regis Loisel. She married 2d, François Lebeau*).

Henry Delorier (*Delaurier*) 500.00
Hélène Bissonette.

Louis Brazeau 350.00
Marie Françoise Bienvenu dit *Delisle.*

Charles Simoneau 500.00
Marie Picard.

Pre. (*Martin dit*) Ladoceur 100.00
Archange Lecompte.

Louis Letourneau (dit *Lafleur*) 300.00
Marie Bissonette.

Ant. (*Vincent*) Bouis 3,500.00
Marie Madeleine Robert.

Benito Vasquez 500.00
Julie Papin.

J. M. (*Joseph Marie*) Papin 1,200.00
Marie Louise Chouteau.

Ve. (*Veuve*) Labbadie (*Pélagie Chouteau, widow of Silvestre Labadie*) 3,000.00

Chs. Gratiot 4,000.00
Victoire Chouteau.

Ve. Chouteau (*Madame Chouteau née Bourgeois, Marie Thérèse*) 3,000.00

J. Bte. (*Jean Baptiste*) Truteau (*Trudeau*) 400.00
Magdalene Roy, widow of François Hébert.

Bernard Pratte 3,000.00
Emelie Sauveur Labadie.

Augte. Chouteau 32,650.00
Marie Thérèse Cerré.

Monsieurs—

Guillaume Hébert (*dit*) Lecompte.....	$5,000.00
Marguerite Blondeau, widow of Amable Guion.	
Fs. (*François*) Vallois (*Valois*).....	2,000.00
Julie Beaugenou.	
Jh. (*Joseph*) Robidoux.....	10,000.00
Catherine Rollet dit *Laderoute.*	
Jh. (*Joseph*) Hortiz.....	1,000.00
Marguerite Marianne Becquet.	
François Liberge (*Anglicised later into Labarge*)	800.00
Marianne Dorion.	
Patrice Lee.....	2,500.00
Constance Condé.	
Hiacinte (*Hyacinthe*) Eglise.....	600.00
Angelique Delisle.	
Poloche (*Louis Paul*) Guittard.....	300.00
Félicité Marli.	
Campbell & Matlake.....	200.00
(*John Campbell.*	
Margaret ————————.	
White Matlack.	
Rebecca ————————.,	
Phil. fine.....	1,000.00
1st, *Celeste Bolly* (*Bolaille*).	
2d, *Maria Newby,* (*widow of John Cleborn*)	
Michel Rolette (*Rolet* dit *Laderoute*).....	300.00
Marguerite Legren.	
Joseph Hébert (dit *Lecompte*).....	300.00
Charlotte Laroche.	
John Biggs.....	400.00
Franco. Benoit (*François Marie Benoit,* or *Benoist*).....	2,000.00
Marie Catherine Sanguinet.	
Pierre Guerret (dit *Dumont*).....	500.00
Pélagie Miot.	
Ante. Flandrin.....	400.00
Marguerite Barada, widow of Jean P. Pourcelli.	

Monsieurs—

J. Bte. (*Jean Baptiste*) Lebeau..... $400.00
Marie Joseph Alvarez Hortiz.

Ve. Jacques Labbé (*Noïse dit Labbé*)..... 100.00
Née Beaugenou, Thérèse.

Chls. (*Vachard* dit) Lardoise..... 100.00
Marie Françoise Gueret dit *Dumont.*

Calvin Adams..... 300.00
Sally ————————.

Alexandre Grimau (dit *Charpentier*)..... 200.00
Thérèse Crepeau.

Louis (*Guitard* dit) Legrandeur..... 150.00
Euphrosine Gueret dit *Dumont.*

Antoine Smith..... 150.00
Félicité Marechal, widow of Joseph Fayet.

Jean Latraisse (*Latresse*)..... 100.00
Rosalie Derouin.

Leveillé, negre libre..... 50.00

François Tayon (*Michel* dit *Taillon*)..... 300.00
Pélagie Chauvin dit *Charleville.*

Pierre Latour..... 50.00
Marie Barsaloux.

Eustache Caillou..... 50.00
Félicité Hortiz.

Louis (*Chauvin* dit) Charleville..... 50.00
Thérèse Lemoine Despins.

Ant. F. Saugrin (*Saugrain*)..... 3,000.00
Geneviève Rosalie Michaux.

Pre. (*Pierre*) Duchouquette..... 300.00
Geneviéve Chauvin dit *Charleville.*

Ve. Morain (*Pélagie Antaya Pelletier, widow of Antoine Morin*)..... 500.00

Flores, *negresse libre* (*Emancipated by Joseph Marie Papin*..... 50.00

Joseph Roi..... 30.00
Josette Cailloux.

Monsieurs—

Dominique Hugé	$50.00
Marie Rose Pourcelli.	
François Duchouquette	200.00
(*Unmarried.*)	
J. Bte. Marly	100.00
Félicité Roussel dit *Sans Souci.*	
Louis Cailloux	50.00
Marie Lalande.	
Noel Mongrin (*Mongrain*)	100.00
"*Une beauté osage.*"	
Ph. (*Philippe Riviere* dit) Baccané	150.00
1st, *Marie Pinot.*	
2d, *Marianne Liberge, widow of Louis Gueret* dit *Dumont.*	
Louis Baudoin	50.00
Marié Euphrosine Tesson Honoré.	
Paul Loise[3]	100.00
Elizabeth Welder.	
P. (*Jean Pierre*) Didier[4]	2,500.00
Hte. (*Hyacinthe*) Hamelin (or *Amelin*)	100.00
Jean Baptiste Dominé	100.00
Manuel Lisa	2,500.00
1st, *Polly or Mary Charless.*	
2d, *Mary Hempstead, widow of John Keeney.*	
Ve. Charleville (*Francoise Brazeau, widow of Jean Baptiste Chauvin* dit *Charleville*)	800.00
F. (*François Joseph Rousseau* dit) La bonté	50.00
Marguerite Alvarez Hortiz.	

[3] Billon says that Paul Loise was son of Alexis Loise and Elizabeth Beaugenou, but in Vissier's *Histoire de la Tribu des Osages*, it is said: "M. Paul Loise, leur interprète, né d'un Français et d'un femme osage, qui, toujours en rapport avec leur tribu parle leur langue, et posséde toute leur affection."

[4] M. Didier came to Missouri from Gallipolis. He had one daughter, Joséphine, who married Hubert Guion, but no mention is made in the St Louis records of his wife. She died, probably, before he came here. He was a watchmaker by trade and was the first Treasurer of the State of Missouri. He died 25 August, 1823.

Monsieurs—

Ms. (*Mrs*) Charlotte Kamps (*Camp*)..... $ 100.00
Married Moses Bates, of Ste. Genevieve, later. She was at this time the widow Guion.

Ve. Bompart (*Celeste Duchouquette, widow of Louis Bompart* dit *Lafleur*)..... 1,000.00

J. Bte. Girard (dit *Tibeau*)..... 150.00
Marie Josepha Rivet.

Ant. Mallette (*Malet*)..... 100.00
Angelique Moreau.

Nicolas Baujenoux (*Beaugenou*)..... 200.00
Catherine Gravelle.

Gre. (*Gregoire*) Sarpy..... 8,000.00
Pélagie Labadie.

Alexis Lalande..... 300.00
Marie Constant.

Susanne, Negresse..... 250.00

J. Bte. Tison..... 250.00
Marianne Normandeau.

Chls. Sanguinet..... 2,500.00
Marie Anne Condé.

Jean Baptiste Dorval dit Degrosellier (*Desgroseillers*)..... 300.00

E. (*Eugéne*) Alvarez..... 600.00
Joséphine Crépeau.

J. Bte. Dumoulin..... 250.00
Thérèse Aubuchon.

Ve. Dubreuille (*Suzanne Santous, widow of Louis Chauvet Dubreuil*)..... 3,000.00

Jce. (*Jacques*) Chauvin (dit *Charleville*)..... 400.00
Marie Louise Tayon.

Jh. (*John*) Mullanphy..... 2,500.00
Elizabeth Brown.

P. (*Antoine Nicolas Pierre*) Provencher..... 150.00
Marie Jeronima Rutgers.

P. (*Paul*) Primaulx (*Primeau*)..... 50.00
Pélagie Bissonette.

Monsieurs—

Francs. Derouin.....	$1,200.00
Catherine Tougard dit *Lavoilette.*	
Ve. Buissonette (*Geneviéve Picard, widow of Pierre Bissonette*).....	400.00
Ve. Lacaisse (*Marie Marguerite Laquaisse, sage-femme*).....	250.00
L. (*Louis*) Lemonde (dit *Lamalice*).....	100.00
Thérèse Mainville dit *Deschenes, widow of Joseph Desautels.*	
Francs. (*Jourdain* dit) Labrosse.....	150.00
Sally Russell.	
Joseph Laprise.....	100.00
Marie Ortes.	
Pierre Baribeau (*Barribeau*).....	400.00
H. (*Hyacinthe*) St. Cire (*Cyr*).....	800.00
Hélène Hébert[5].	
Joseph Lacroix (dit *Marentel*).....	100.00
Hélène Bissonette.	
Ve. Laviolette (*Catherine Tougard* dit *Laviolette*)	50.00
Marie Labastille (*negresse libre*).....	50.00
Jean Derouen (*Derouin*).....	75.00
Marguerite Lafontaine, widow of François Guenelle.	
Saml. Solomon.....	150.00
Geneviève Gueret.	
Ve. Lajoie[6] (*Marie Rose Vidalpando, widow of Jean Salé* dit *Lajoie*).....	800.00
We. (*William*) Sullivan.....	500.00
Sarah McAuley.	

[5] Hélène Hébert was the great grand-daughter of Charles Danis, who received, in 1722, the first grant of land made in "The Illinois."

[6] Madame Salé *dit* Lajoie had a most adventurous life. She was born at Taos, New Mexico. Her parents were killed and she was carried off by the Comanches. She came to St. Louis about 1770, and died here 27 July, 1830, said to be of the age of one hundred and seven years. See Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies, 146; Archives of St. Louis, Vol. 3, p. 137; 3 Mo. Reports, 529.

Monsieurs—

L. (*Louis*) Boury	$300.00
V. Guillard (*Vincent Guitard*)	50.00
Thérèse Arpin Poitevin.	
R. LeVasseur (*Regis Vasseur*)	250.00
Françoise Guitard dit *Lagrandeur.*	
Yeffrey (*Geoffrey Camp, mulatto*)	100.00
St. Pierre[7]	150.00
John Coons	200.00
Catherine E. ————————.	
Jh. (*Joseph Chauvin* dit) Charleville	300.00
Victoire Richelet Verdon.	
L. (*Louis Bienvenu* dit) Delisle	300.00
Catherine Nicole Les Bois.	
Gauché (*Gabriel*) Becquette	150.00
Louise St. François.	
Jh. (*Joseph*) Labrosse	50.00
Thérèse Damours de Louviéres, widow of Louis Dehétres.	
Elizb. Datchurut	50.00
Total des terrins and evalu'ts de St. Louis	$152,655.00

Of the lots "*en ville, non etablir,*" there were three; one owned by Auguste Chouteau and two by Joseph Hortiz.

Of the same "*Hor de ville,*" there were ten, owned by the following named persons, one each: Jacques Clamorgan, Pierre Chouteau, Cerre père Antoine Soulard, Louis Brazeau, Antoine Bouis, Joseph Marie Papin, *Veuve* Chouteau, Hébert Lecompte, and *Veuve* Dubreuil. Of the "*terrins etablis,*" there were in all one hundred and forty-two. Of these, Jacques Clamorgan owned two, Joseph Brazeau two, Pierre Chouteau two, Pascal Cerré two, Antoine Soulard two, Antoine Bouis two, Auguste Chouteau six, Hébert Lecompte two, Joseph Robidoux two, Patrice Lee two, Gregoire Sarpy two,

[7] This was Joseph Labadie *dit* St. Pierre. There were also in the village Charles and Etienne St. Pierre, Paul Jussiaume *dit* St. Pierre and Cadron *dit* St. Pierre.

and Charles Sanguinet two; the others named owned one each, making the total number of land owners in the village, according to the tax list, one hundred and twenty-six.

The only wind mill "*moulin a van*," was that of Antoine Roi,[8] Auguste Chouteau and Gregoire Sarpy each had a water mill.

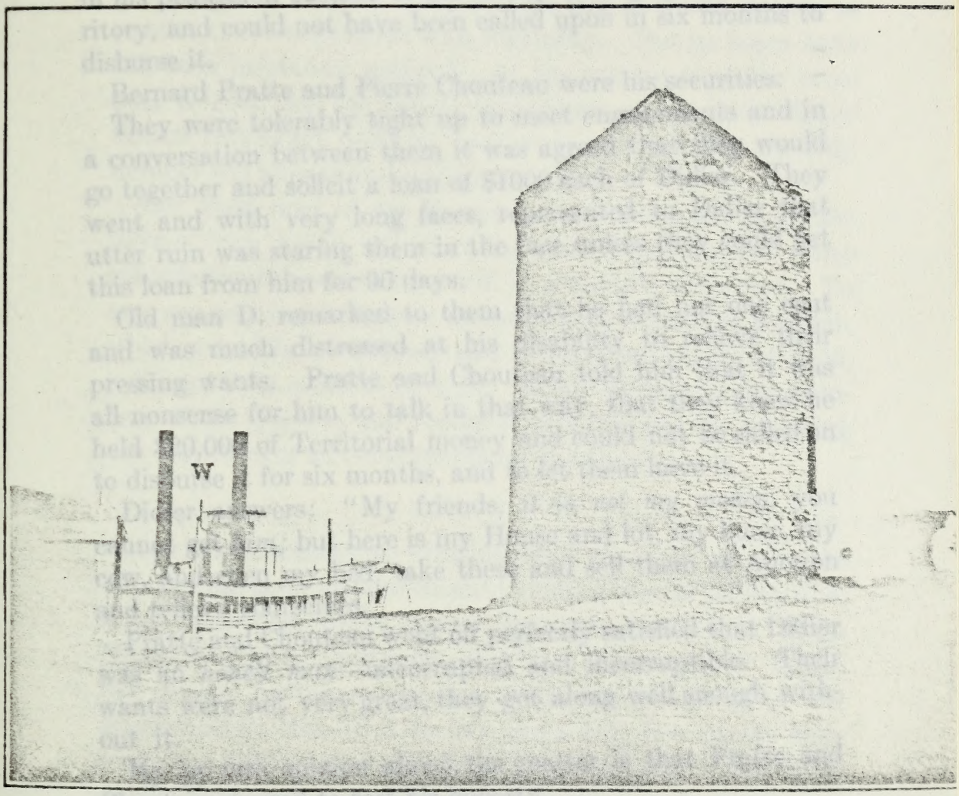
The valuations are not distributed, so that it is impossible to discover how much the total amount given is increased by the lots outside of the village. It is probable, however, that the assessed valuation of all of the real estate in St. Louis was very close to the sum of one hundred and fifty-two thousand, five hundred dollars. But it must be remembered that the village lay between Third Street and the River, and extended north about to Morgan Street and South to Convent.

[8] The boundaries of the town of St. Louis, as incorporated 9 November, 1809, were as follows: "Beginning at Antoine Roy's Mill, on the bank of the Mississippi; thence running sixty arpents west; thence south on said line of sixty arpents in the rear until the same come to the Barriere Denoyer; thence due south until it comes to the Sugar Loaf; thence due east to the Mississippi; from thence by the Mississippi to the place first-mentioned." Roy's Mill, or as it was called in later days, Roy's Tower, stood on the bank of the Mississippi about at the foot of Ashley Street. By some it is stated to bave been as far south as Morgan Street. It was a stone round tower of the same kind as those built by the Spanish authorities for the defence of the village, but I can find no authority for the statement often made, that it was a part of the scheme of fortification. It seems to have been built by Roy for a mill. The date of its demolition is uncertain.

MISSOURI'S FIRST BEES.

It is generally known in upper Louisiana, that bees had not been found westward of the Mississippi prior to the year 1797.

At that time the natural history of the bee was not very well known at St. Louis. They relate there that a French lady of that place having received a present of honey from Kaskaskias, was much delighted with it, and being told that it was produced by a kind of fly, she sent a negro with a small box to Kaskaskias (60 miles) to get a pair of the flies, in order that she might obtain the breed.—From Bradbury's *Travels*.



(From an old Daguerreotype in possession of the Society.)

ROY'S TOWER, Near foot of Ashley Street.

AN HONEST OFFICER.[1]

In the year 1819, during a panic in money matters, Pierre Didier was the Treasurer of the Territory of Missouri and had in his possession $20,000 of the money belonging to the Territory, and could not have been called upon in six months to disburse it.

Bernard Pratte and Pierre Chouteau were his securities.

They were tolerably tight up to meet engagements and in a conversation between them it was agreed that they would go together and solicit a loan of $1000 each of Didier. They went and with very long faces, represented to Didier that utter ruin was staring them in the face unless they could get this loan from him for 90 days.

Old man D. remarked to them that he had not one cent and was much distressed at his disability to relieve their pressing wants. Pratte and Chouteau told him that it was all nonsense for him to talk in that way, that they knew he held $20,000 of Territorial money and could not be called on to disburse it for six months, and to let them have it.

Didier answers: "My friends, *it is not my money*, you cannot get *him;* but here is my House and lot, my horse, my cow, and even my bed, take these and sell them at Auction and relieve yourselves."

Pratte and Chouteau went off perfectly satisfied that Didier was an *honest man*—uncorrupted and incorruptible. Their wants were not very great, they got along well enough without it.

My private opinion about the matter is that Pratte and Chouteau desired to test his honesty.

(Signed) Wm. G. Pettus.

To Wilson Primm: I know of no person except yourself who is capable of telling this story, and therefore ask you to do it. Make the parties speak *French*, as they certainly did, but give the translation in English so that we may all understand. I will pay for the publication. W. G. P.

[1] The foregoing paper, in the hand writing of Mr. Pettus, is in the collection of manuscripts of the Missouri Historical Society.

NOTES.

THE FUTURE OF THE QUARTERLY.—The SOCIETY has been encouraged at various times to hope that it would be able to publish the COLLECTIONS with regularity. But its hopes have not been heretofore realized. At the present time the prospect is good for the future appearance of an issue of the COLLECTIONS each quarter. And it is expected that the July number will appear during that month.

The great need of the SOCIETY is a publication fund, the income from which will meet the cost of publication. Any contributions to such a fund will be gratefully welcomed. To any one desiring to leave a monument to himself or another, which would be everlasting and a perpetual source of good, nothing better could be devised. In the meantime, the members of the SOCIETY can render substantial aid by procuring new members or advertisements for the Quarterly.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.—During the years in which the SOCIETY has been without means to issue a regular publication, it has been most kindly treated by kindred societies. From Massachusetts to California, and from Minnesota to Texas, the several historical societies (with the exception of the Massachusetts Historical Society and a very few others) have sent their publications with unvarying regularity. And these publications, many of which have grown into long sets, are among the chief treasures of our library. Noticeable among these long sets—speaking from memory and not attempting to be comprehensive—are the publications of the Essex Institute of Salem, Massachusetts, the Medford Historical Society of the same State, the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Texas State Historical Association, the Historical Society of Montana the Chicago Historical Society, the Illinois State Historical Library, the State Historical Society of Iowa, and the Histori-

cal Department of the same State, the Minnesota Historical Society, the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, the Kansas State Historical Society, the Nebraska Historical Society, and the State of New York and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

To all of these, and to all of our other friends not named above, who have sent us their publications, we wish to express our sincere gratitude and our most hearty thanks.

In contrast with the usual pleasant experience of the SOCIETY, it was recently informed, when a proposition for an *exchange* of publications was made by it to the Historical Society of a sister State, bound to our own by many ties, that no exchange could be made "*for unbound publications.*"

We have recently received from the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, the welcome gift of an almost complete set of the very valuable publications of that Society, the first volume of which was published in the year 1820.

To Mr. T. W. Conyers, of Cando, South Dakota, we wish to give the thanks of the SOCIETY for the gift of a copy of Ephraim McD. Anderson's *Memoirs. Historical and Personal; Including the Campaigns of the First Missouri Confederate Brigade,* published in St. Louis in 1868. This is a book which the SOCIETY has for a long time greatly desired to possess.

The thanks of the SOCIETY are extended, also, to William T. Ragland, Esq., of Paris, Missouri, for valuable assistance in making known the wants of the SOCIETY in that connection.

THE BUILDING FUND.—The possibility of the destruction by fire of the invaluable collections of manuscripts, portraits, specimens of Indian handiwork, and books, housed in the building of the SOCIETY, has long been a source of great anxiety to all those who take an interest in the history of Missouri and Missouri people. That a fireproof building is a necessity, it needs no argument to establish. A fund for the erection of such a building has been subscribed, and the

greater part of it is now in the hands of the Treasurer. We give herewith a list of the subscribers:

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To these public spirited citizens, and to others who have announced the purpose of subscribing as soon as the SOCIETY is ready to begin work, the SOCIETY gives its most sincere thanks. The plans for the new building have been drawn, and it is expected that the work will be begun in a short time.

THE LATE CHARLES ALDRICH.—It is with sincere sorrow that we learn of the death of Mr. Charles Aldrich, of Iowa, which occurred at Boone, Iowa, 8 March, 1908. Mr. Aldrich, by his intelligent and unselfish devotion to the collection and preservation of the materials for the history of his own State

and of the Mississippi valley, has made for himself a place in the estimation of the people which will cause his loss to be long deplored. Mr. Aldrich was born in New York State, 2 October, 1828, but removed to Iowa in his early manhood, and thoroughly identified himself with the State of his adoption, to which he rendered good service in both civil and military positions.

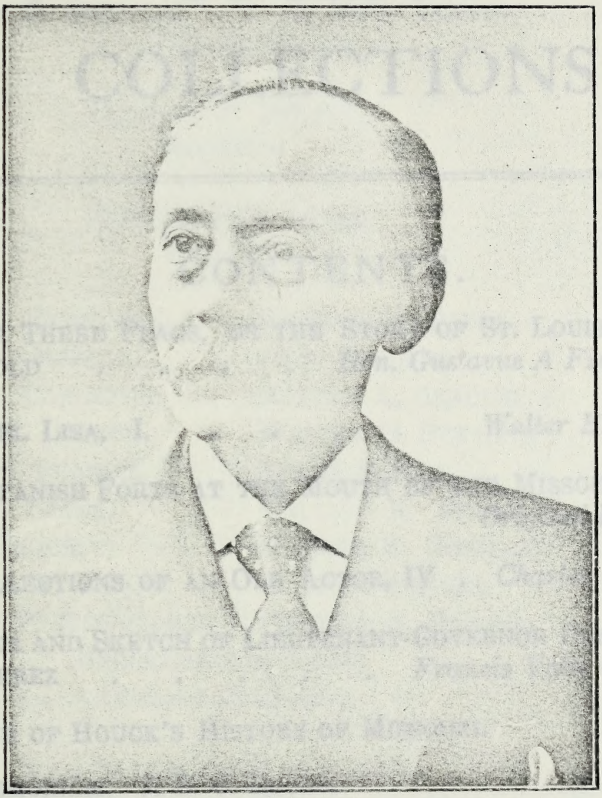
The Beginning of Jefferson Barracks.—To General Stephen W. Kearny belongs the honor of being the first immediate commander of troops to arrive at and occupy the site of Jefferson Barracks, the military post near St. Louis. Billon and other chroniclers have mistakenly given the honor to Col. Talbot W. Chambers. Their error is shown by the fact that Chambers, who had been in command of the First Regiment of Infantry, was cashiered from the Army April 28, 1826, several months before the troops arrived at the site. A battalion of the First, consisting of four companies, under command of Kearny, then a captain and brevet major in this regiment, had been with the Sixth Infantry in Gen. Atkinson's Missouri River Expedition in the summer of 1825. On the return of the expedition, in September, 1825, the Sixth went into garrison at Fort Atkinson (Council Bluffs), but the barracks there not being large enough to contain all the troops, the battalion of the First, under Kearny, built a temporary cantonment eight miles below, near the "Lime Kiln," calling it "Cantonment Barbour," where they spent the winter. On May 2, 1826, they descended the Missouri to Cantonment Bellefontaine, near the junction with the Mississippi, taking eight days for the trip. They found the old cantonment in a very decayed state but moved into the buildings in preference to camping. Here they remained till July 10, 1826, when in accordance with departmental orders they abandoned the post (which was never subsequently re-garrisoned) and moved down the Mississippi to the site which Gen. Atkinson had selected for the new military post, ten miles below

St. Louis and four below Carondelet. On the same day at a spot on the reservation near the Rock Spring, they went into camp, calling it "Cantonment Adams," after John Quincy Adams, then president. These facts are obtained from Kearny's own journal of 1826 and may be taken as authentic. Two months later (Sept. 17, 1826), the Third Infantry from Green Bay, under command of Col. Leavenworth, arrived by river at the new post and considerably increased the force there. This command went into a separate camp, which they called "Camp Miller," in honor of the then governor of Missouri. Both camps were nominally under the command of Brevet Brig.-Gen. Atkinson, Colonel of the Sixth Infantry, who was departmental commander at St. Louis. (His own regiment, from which he was detached, was still at Council Bluffs, under the command of Lt.-Col. Woolley.) As winter approached the troops built temporary log cabins for shelter. On Oct. 23, 1826, the whole post was, in accordance with orders from the Adjutant General's office, designated "Jefferson Barracks," in memory of Thomas Jefferson, who had died July 4, 1826, the semi-centennial of American Independence, and but a few days prior to the first occupation of the site by Kearny. Gen. Atkinson's duties keeping him in St. Louis, Col. Leavenworth, the senior officer at the post, was in immediate though not nominal command. To him belongs the honor of conducting the "Infantry School of Instruction," one of the purposes for which the post was designed. This was the first Army service school for infantry. It was destined not to live very long and no similar school was established for over fifty years. Leavenworth was ordered away in the spring of 1827 and became occupied with the establishment of the newer post in Kansas, which now bears his name.

Ramsay Crooks.—The Society is indebted to the good offices of Charles M. Burton, Esq., of Detroit, for a typewritten volume containing copies of correspondence between Ramsay Crooks and John Jacob Astor, beginning in 1813 and extending to the middle of 1828. This supplements the Ashley, Sublette, and other papers relating to the Fur Trade already in the Society's possession. When the Chouteau papers, which have been promised to the Society are added, so much new material will be made accessible that the history of the Missouri River Country will have to be rewritten.

More About Spanish Missouri.—Since the instructions of d'Ulloa to Rui, appearing in the foregoing pages was put in type, the Society has received from Hon. Louis Houck a translation of a most interesting document giving a description of the manner in which Rui carried out the instructions given him. This document furnishes new material for the history of St. Louis and St. Charles counties, and will be published in the next issue of the Collections. The Society is promised transcripts from the French Archives which it is expected will settle some disputed questions regarding the French settlements in Missouri.

The July Quarterly.—Among the papers promised for the next issue of the Collections, which, it is expected will be published in July, is one about Manuel Lisa, supplementing the sketch given by Chittenden in his *American Fur Trade*, and containing facts relating to Lisa's career which were not accessible to Chittenden. Another, is a programme of Missouri History for Study Clubs, with bibliographical references. It is expected that the latter will be republished by the Society in pamphlet form for distribution throughout the State, and it is hoped that it will stimulate the growing interest in the subject.



G. A. Finkelnburg

VOLUME III 1911 NUMBER 3

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

CONTENTS.

UNDER THREE FLAGS, OR THE STORY OF ST. LOUIS BRIEFLY TOLD . . . . *Hon. Gustavus A Finkelnburg.*

MANUEL LISA, I. . . . . *Walter B. Douglas.*

THE SPANISH FORTS AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSOURI RIVER *Original Document.*

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR, IV . *Charles A. Krone.*

LETTER AND SKETCH OF LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DON MANUEL PEREZ . . . . . *Francis Valle Collection.*

NOTICE OF HOUCK'S HISTORY OF MISSOURI.

IN MEMORIAM: J. B. C. LUCAS.
PIERRE CHOUTEAU.
MALCOLM MACBETH.

NOTES: *Errata*—The "Collections"—The New Building—The Vallé Collection—The Waldo Papers—The Beckwith Archæological Collection—The Black Hawk Bowl.

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

VOL. III. ST. LOUIS, 1911. No. 3.

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UNDER THREE FLAGS

OR

THE STORY OF ST. LOUIS BRIEFLY TOLD.[1]

BY HON. GUSTAVUS A. FINKELNBURG.

CHAPTER I.

UNDER THE FRENCH FLAG.

1764—1770.

When our thoughts revert to the beginnings of our cities on the Atlantic coast we see in the background the green hills and church spires of England, or the gray dunes and windmills of Holland. In tracing the origin of the early settlements in the Mississippi valley, we must turn our eyes to the more sunny climes of France.

The story, briefly told, runs as follows:

About the time the English settled at Jamestown the French founded Quebec. From there they pushed westward up the St. Lawrence and along the chain of the Great Lakes. In 1673 Marquette and Joliet reached the Mississippi, finding their way to it by the Fox and

[1] Copyright, 1911. By Ida M. Finkelnburg.

Wisconsin rivers; they descended as far as the Arkansas and returned by the way of the Illinois river. In the year 1682 Robert Cavelier de LaSalle, a young man of enterprising spirit and liberal education from the cathedral town of Rouen, who had emigrated to Canada or New France, as it was then called, to seek his fortune, followed this route armed with a royal commission, and he was the first to descend the Mississippi river to its mouth, where he unfurled the banner of France, and amid the acclamations of his forty companions took formal possession in the name of Louis XIV of all the territory watered by that river from its source and all the streams flowing into it on both sides. He called it Louisiana. In substance this embraced all that portion of the present United States which lies between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains. In those days of national land-grabbing this broad claim was supported by a sort of unwritten international law that when a civilized and Christian nation discovers and takes possession of the mouth of a river in a new country that possession was to be considered as including all the territory watered by such river and the streams which flow into it.[2]

But France was unable to maintain its hold on the vast empire it had mapped out and appropriated to itself on the North American continent. The early French emigration to America was brilliant but volatile in character; it lacked numbers and lacked stability; it embraced heroic missionaries, bold explorers, enterprising traders, gallant voyagers and roving "*coureurs de bois*"; but it lacked the farmers and the permanent settlers who like the English colonists on the Atlantic coast came to build up homes for themselves and their posterity. The Anglo Saxon struck root deep, like the oak, while the tendrils of French

[2] Jefferson's Works, Vol. 7, p. 51; Hall's International Law, Sec. 32.

immigration ran lightly along the surface. Indeed the majority looked upon New France as a place of temporary sojourn only to accomplish an end and then return to the land of their birth.

And so it was that when the final struggle between the French and the English for supremacy in North America came in 1753 the French had a population of less than 100,000 scattered over an immense territory, while the more compact British colonists numbered in the neighborhood of 2,000,000. Nevertheless the French colonists fought bravely and desperately for their flag during that seven years inter-colonial war which practically ended with the tragic fall of Quebec. They had received but an indifferent and lukewarm support from a weak and inefficient home government, and on the 12th day of February, 1763, Louis XV. tired of the war, signed the treaty of Paris by which France ceded to Engand not only the whole of Canada but all French possessions east of the Mississippi river from its source to its mouth, except the city of New Orleans. In an apparent fit of disgust or indifference this act of cession was followed by another by which New Orleans and all the territory west of the Mississippi (including the district of St. Louis) was secretly ceded to Spain as an indemnity for the loss sustained by that country as an ally of France during the latter part of the inter-colonial war.[3] Thus France let slip a magnificent future empire. A recent French author calls ths treaty of Paris "*Le crime du regne de Louis* XV." Guizot, treating the subject more philosophically, says:

"Everywhere in the western regions of the American continent, the footsteps of the French, either travellers or missionaries, preceded the boldest adventurers. It is the glory and the misfortune of France to always lead the van in the march of civilization,

[3] The cession to Spain was made 3 Nov., 1762.—[Ed.]

without having the wit to profit by the discoveries and the sagacious boldness of her children. On the unknown roads which she has opened to the human mind and to human enterprise she has often left the fruits to be gathered by nations less inventive and less able than she, but more persevering and less perturbed by a confusion of desires and an incessant renewal of hopes.'"[4]

It was at this juncture of international affairs that St. Louis was founded. The cession of the east bank of the Mississippi to England was known, the cession of the country west of the Mississippi to Spain was unknown and remained a secret for sometime thereafter. Indeed the French government was allowed to remain in possession until the year 1770.

St. Louis was founded in 1764. I am aware that many, if not most of the noted cities of the world, have, or pretend to have, some fabled story or pretty romance connected with their origin. It would have been pleasant for the writer to interweave an Indian legend or French romance with the founding of St. Louis, but a regard for the truthfulness of this chronicle compels me to set it down as a fact that the establishment of the town was simply a business proposition unembellished by legendary lore or romanticism of any kind. Indeed it owed its immediate origin to the grant of a huge monopoly. Such grants, however much condemned now-a-days, were not uncommon in the days of which we write, and have often been incident to the development of new countries as an incentive to enterprise.

During the year 1762 the firm of Maxent, Laclede & Company of New Orleans obtained from the French Governor of Louisiana the exclusive privilege, for a term of years, to trade with the Indians of the Missouri and those west of the Mississippi above the Mis-

[4] Guizot's History of France, Vol. 5, Chap. 53.

souri and as far north as the River St. Peters, a vast territory presenting almost unlimited opportunities for commercial enterprise. To Laclede was entrusted the practical execution of the venture. Laclede was born at Bedons in southern France under the shadow of the Pyrenees in the year 1724, and like many of his countrymen, emigrated to Louisiana to seek his fortune in a new world. He is described in Elihu H. Shepard's Early History of St. Louis as a man of the southern European type, "very dark complexion, black piercing and expressive eyes, a large nose, and expansive forehead." It is generally agreed by those who knew him that he was a man of superior judgment, great energy and amiable temperament, and that he was well liked by all his associates.

Laclede with a party of pioneers and a stock of merchandise left New Orleans in August, 1763, in a number of boats and began the tedious journey up the Mississippi arriving at Ste. Genevieve, then the most northern white settlement of importance on the river, about three months later. He wintered at Fort Chartres on the Illinois side of the river about 15 miles above Ste. Genevieve. Early in February[5] he started

[5] "He (Laclede) left Ste. Genevieve, and arrived at Fort Chartres on the 3d of November, 1763, when he disembarked all his goods, and prepared immediately all the supplies for the different nations. After all the business of the trade was done, he occupied himself with the means of forming an establishment suitable for his commerce, Ste. Genevieve not suiting him, because of its distance from the Missouri, and its insalubrious situation. (The old village is referred to, not the present town which dates from 1785). These reasons decided him to seek a more advantageous site. In consequence, he set out from the Fort de Chartres in the month of December, took with him a young man in his confidence, and examined all the ground from the Fort de Chartres to the Missouri. He was delighted to see the situation (where St. Louis at present stands); he did not hesitate a moment to form there the establishment that he proposed. Besides the beauty of the site, he found there all the advantages that one could desire to found a settlement which might become very considerable hereafter. After

up again, and after inspecting the neighborhood of the confluence of the two great rivers of the west, selected the present site of St. Louis as the most desirable location for the establishment of a trading post which should form the base of the operations for his commercial enterprise and the nucleus for a future town.

On the 15th of March, 1764,[6] the first trees were felled to clear the ground on the river front between our present Market and Walnut streets, a shed was built to protect the provisions and tools, and some cabins to shelter the men. The first colony consisted of thirty men. During that summer Laclede's house

having examined all thoroughly, he fixed upon the place where he wished to form his settlement, marked with his own hand some trees, and said to Chouteau, 'You will come here as soon as navigation opens, and will cause this place to be cleared, in order to form our settlement after the plan that I shall give you.' We set out immediately afterwards to return to Fort Chartres, where he said, with enthusiasm to Monsieur de Neyon, and to his officers, that he had found a situation where he was going to form a settlement which might become hereafter one of the finest cities in America—so many advantages were embraced in this site, by its locality and its central position, for forming settlements. He was occupied the rest of the winter in procuring all things necessary for the settlement,—men, provisions, tools, etc.

Navigation being open in the early part of February, he fitted out a boat in which he put thirty men—nearly all mechanics—and he gave the charge of it to Chouteau and said to him: 'You will proceed and land at the place where we marked the trees; you will commence to have the place cleared, and build a large shed to contain the provisions and the tools, and some small cabins to lodge the men. I give you two men on whom you can depend, who will aid you very much, and I will rejoin you before long.'

I arrived at the place designated on the 14th of February, and on the morning of the next day I put the men to work."

—*Journal* of Colonel Auguste Chouteau.— [Ed.]

[6] There has existed some uncertainty as to the date of the founding of St. Louis, attributable to a change made in Chouteau's Journal. It seems to be now settled, however, that the correct date is 15 February, 1764. See Chouteau's Journal, and Scharff's History of St. Louis, 66 (Waterhouse).—[Ed.]

and store were built on ground now bounded by Main, Second, Market and Walnut streets. Col. Auguste Chouteau, then a very young man, who assisted Laclede, relates that Indian women and children were employed in digging the cellar for this house, the earth being carried out in wooden platters and baskets on their heads. In the fall of that year some more settlers came up the river, so that the first year closed with a population of about 40 souls. Laclede, who by virtue of his authority from the French government to establish a trading post, was considered the legal proprietor of the town site, allotted building sites to the settlers by grants, mostly in lots of 60 by 125 feet along the river front. Two years later Capt. St. Ange came over from Fort Chartres and took charge of the new colony as temporary governor; he in conjunction with Joseph Labusciere, a notary and lawyer acting as Secretary of the local government,[7] executed grants of land in writing which were recorded in books still in existence known as the "Livres Terrien." These grants were generally without money consideration, but upon condition that the grantee should clear the land and build a house within a specified time.

The affairs of civilized man develop similarly wherever communities are established, and so we find a marriage recorded as early as April 20th, 1766, a mortgage within six months thereafter, an agreement to set up a billiard table in 1770, and a deed of separation between husband and wife not long thereafter. The early amusements of the inhabitants according to Billon's Annals consisted of dancing parties, billiards, cards and pony races. The French settlers in Louisiana were of cheerful temperament; they loved amuse-

[7] Labusciere describes himself, in a paper executed in 1766, as "subdelegate of the intendant of Louisiana." The intendant at that time was M. Foucault. Labusciere was also *procureur du Roi*, but was not secretary of any local government.—[Ed.]

ments and merry makings. In this respect they were the antitheses of the Puritans. As had been their custom in the country they came from, they attended mass with much devotion on Sunday morning but they devoted the afternoon to various amusements and the evening to dancing. But, says a chronicler of those days, "it must be confessed that the French people on those days avoid all intemperate and immoral excesses, and conduct themselves with apparent decorum."[8]

The first recorded sale of real estate, dated January 21st, 1766, was from James Denis, a joiner, to Antoine Hubert, a merchant, embracing 60 feet front by 150 feet deep, at the southwest corner of Walnut and Second streets, "with a house of posts on the same built by himself," for a consideration of $20 for the lot and $200 for the house. Soon after an adjoining lot of same size was sold for $20 and six quarts of rum. A lot of 120 feet front by 150 feet deep on the west side of Second street between Pine and Chestnut was sold at a public sale by the Governor to pay the debts of an absconding debtor, September 26th, 1768, for $120 including a small log house 16 feet square.

According to the ancient custom of towns and villages in Europe a tract of land southwest of and adjoining the village was set apart as "commons" for the use of all the inhabitants for pasturage, and another tract northwest of and adjoining the village as common fields, in which strips of land one or two arpents in front by 40 feet deep were assigned to those villagers who desired to cultivate arable land. The tract set apart as commons for pasture had timber and water upon it; the tract for cultivation was mostly an open prairie. The former was afterward laid out in lots and sold by the city as public property. The

[8] Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 316.

common field lots were allowed to become the private property of the respective individuals who possessed and cultivated them at the time of the change of government.

The religious feeling of the first settlers was attested by the reservation of a block of ground in the village for church purposes. It was the block of ground bounded by Walnut, Market, Second and Third streets, upon which the old cathedral now stands.

At first the new settlement was known as "Laclede's Village," but when the village had assumed shape and began to show signs of growth and permanency Laclede named it "St. Louis" not in honor of the then reigning monarch Louis XV. as has sometimes been erroneously assumed, for that dissolute monarch never was sainted, but in honor of Louis IX., canonized by the church for his many virtues and who was the especial protector of towns and cities against the encroachments of the feudal lords. The memory of our municipal patron saint, who reigned over France in the 13th century, valiant in war and wise in peace, was deeply engraved on the hearts of the French people, and for centuries after his death, when oppressed by misgovernment, they would demand a return to the laws and customs of "the good king St. Louis."

During the next few years the new colony grew apace. Many of the French settlers east of the river being averse to the new British rule abandoned their homes and moved over to the west side where they still found the more congenial laws, customs and society of their parent country. St. Louis received its share of these refugees who little thought that in a short time they would again be subjected to a foreign flag. In 1770 at the close of the French Regime there were 115 houses—100 of wood and 15 of stone. The population was 500.

Before bidding adieu to the French regime, we must

take notice of the visit and death of Pontiac, the great Indian chief who has been called the Mithridates of America. A man of vigorous mind, a warrior of great renown and lofty in his ambitions, he was an inveterate enemy of the British domination in which he foresaw the ultimate extermination of his people. During the inter-colonial war he fought with distinction on the side of the French, and after the treaty of Paris made a final dash for the independence of his race by organizing one of the most powerful revolts which ever threatened the English colonies. When that failed too, he wandered about for a time brooding over his disappointments, and as it is said frequently seeking consolation in his cups. In 1769 he came to St. Louis to visit his old friend Capt. St. Ange, then acting governor of this post. The French inhabitants of the town received him with distinction and treated him with the most cordial hospitality. But during a visit across the river to the village of Cahokia, against which he had been forewarned, he was assassinated after a carousal by a Kaskaskia Indian, who it is said was bribed thereto by an English trader. Capt. St. Ange caused his body to be brought over to St. Louis, and he was buried with military honors in the enclosure of the fort which stood near the present junction of Fourth and Walnut streets on ground now occupied by the Southern Hotel.[9]

In the year 1778 Laclede died of a fever in his bateau while returning from a visit to New Orleans. He was buried on the banks of the river near the mouth of the Arkansas. He does not seem to have lived long enough to reap the pecuniary reward which his enterprise promised to yield. His house and other property was sold to pay liabilities incurred.

[9] It is stated on good authority that Pontiac was buried not within the inclosure of the fort, but in the burying ground which lay a little to the northward, north of what is now Walnut Street.—[Ed.]

CHAPTER II.

Under the Spanish Flag.

1770—1804.

His Majesty Charles III., the king of Spain; was slow to avail himself of the gift which his royal cousin Louis XV. had so generously presented to him at the close of the colonial war. When finally he did so the Spanish regime was ushered in with tragic effect. For a time the French inhabitants of Louisiana had been kept in utter ignorance of their involuntary transfer to a foreign jurisdiction; when that fact became known there was much exasperation, and when finally Spain sent the scholarly Don Antonio de Ulloa as a commissioner to arrange for a transfer of the government, there was a tumultuous outbreak of popular feeling in New Orleans and such a demonstration of hostility and threatened violence that Ulloa found it prudent to withdraw. The next year, 1769, Don Alexander O'Reilly, a rigorous general of the Spanish army arrived with a strong military force to establish the authority of the Spanish crown as well as to punish the offenders of the previous year, which task he performed somewhat after the fashion in which his distinguished countryman the Duke of Alba dispatched similar affairs in the Netherlands. Having in some way induced the leaders of the late disturbance to come to his house, he had them seized and court-martialed. Six were shot and a number of others transported to prisons in the West Indies. Among these unfortunates were some of the most prominent citizens of New Orleans.

After this came unqualified submission and peace, and when some months later Lieutenant-Governor Don

Pedro Piernas arrived in St. Louis to extend the authority of Spain to Upper Louisiana[10] the people of this town quietly but with poignant regrets and gloomy forebodings looked on as the French flag was lowered from their little fort and the Castilian standard hoisted in its stead.

Charles III., however, whose subjects the people of St. Louis had now become, was in every respect the superior of Louis XV. both as a man and as a ruler. History describes him as one of the best rulers Spain ever had, and under his reign and reformatory measures the prosperity of the people was greatly promoted. It is generally conceded also that the bloody rigor of O'Reilly's policy in Louisiana was not dictated by royal instructions.

Indeed the Spanish regime on the whole proved an agreeable disappointment to St. Louisans. Lieutenant-Governor Piernas seems to have been a wise and liberal man who understood how to adapt himself to the situation in which he was placed—that of ruling over a people foreign to the crown he represented. He disarmed their antipathies, and when five years

[10] In regard to the distant posts Monsieur the General (O'Reilly) committed to the officers commanding there the powers to make the inhabitants established there take the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain.

The season not permitting a convoy to be sent to the Illinois, Monsieur the general has informed M. de St. Ange who commands there, and who has been there for fifty years, that having confidence in his experience and his probity, he has only to send to him a statement of what he thinks necessary, as well for the savages as for the inhabitants, he will comply with his demands.

Aubry to Choiseul (1769, prior to 23 Nov.), 2 Gayarré, *Histoire de la Louisane*, 312.

Prior to 1796, St. Louis was in "the western part of the Illinois"; after that time the country was called Upper Louisiana.

It may be inferred from the foregoing that the people of St. Louis had transferred their allegiance from France to Spain prior to the coming of Piernas. —[Ed.]

later he was relieved, the residents of St. Louis looked upon his departure with genuine feelings of regret.

When the Spanish government took possession of St. Louis (in the year 1770) the village was six years old and its population consisted of about 500 souls; ancient chronicles show that there were 115 houses, 100 of wood and 15 of stone. The wooden houses were constructed of logs, not after the fashion of the English-American log house with logs placed over each other horizontally, but of flattened logs set perpendicularly in the earth and the interstices between them filled with mortar or more commonly with clay. It was in this manner, too, that the first house of worship was built on the southwest corner of Market and Second streets which was dedicated on the 24th day of June, 1770, by Father Gibault of the Roman Catholic Church. Of the stone houses, besides that of Laclede, the largest and finest was probably that occupied by the Spanish governors on the south-east corner of Main and Walnut streets, of which we are told by Mr. Elihu H. Shepard, that "it was the seat of hospitality and the high school of fashion during both administrations." There were no mails and no inns; letters were carried by private parties as opportunity presented itself, and private hospitality took the place of hotel accommodations. Furs and peltries constituted the principal currency of the people. Contracts generally recited a consideration of so many livres French money "payable in peltries, deerskins or beaver at the current price of the same at this post"; and as late as 1805 taxes were made payable "in shaven deerskins at the rate of 3 pounds to the dollar."

Speaking of taxes, it may be mentioned here that at this early day the revenue system of the province included an inheritance tax of two per cent on property inherited by collateral heirs, and four per cent on all property bequeathed to persons not of kin to the test-

ator. A license tax of thirty dollars per annum was imposed on the sale of ardent spirits.[11]

At this period of time the navigation of our western rivers presented much difficulty. It was carried on by boats propelled by oars with the occasional aid of sails, resort being also had to poling and "cordelling," the latter consisting in pulling along the shore line by means of ropes after the fashion of canal boats. Under these circumstances the voyage from New Orleans to St. Louis usually took from seventy to eighty days, and from St. Louis to New Orleans about half that time. Some of these boats or "bateaux" as they were called had a capacity of from fifty to one hundred tons and required large crews to work the oars. (See Scharff's St. Louis, under title of Navigation.) It may be imagined that this sort of navigation developed a peculiar and interesting class of river men whose characteristics might have furnished rich material for character sketches if there had then been a Mark Twain or Bret Harte to write them up.

Governor Piernas was succeeded by Francisco Cruzat in 1775, and he was followed by Don Fernando de Leyba, who has been described as a weak, avaricious and incompetent ruler. During his administration St. Louis sustained a hostile attack which forms the most notable event in its early history and imperiled its existence as a town. It occurred as follows:

When the war for independence broke out between England and her American colonies St. Louis was under the Spanish flag and hence neutral territory. But Spain, out of animosity to England rather than good-will to the Americans, secretly joined France in sending large sums of money as well as military supplies to America. In 1778, after the success at Saratoga, France openly espoused the American

[11] Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 286.

cause. In 1779 Spain declared war against England and besieged Gibraltar. When this became known in Lower Louisiana some conflicts took place between the Spanish and English forces on the lower Mississippi. About this time, too, rumors were afloat that an attack was meditated by the British on St. Louis. This led to the hasty erection of a line of temporary fortifications around the town constructed of brush and clay with three gateways, and terminating at points on the river north and south. A small fort called "La Tour" was built on Fourth and Walnut streets. This and a few gates in the line of defense were supplied with pieces of ordnance. Nothing came of the rumored attack in the year 1779 and the alarm subsided, but in the spring of the following year a large force of Indians was fitted out, under the auspices of the British authorities at Mackinac, and dispatched towards St. Louis. They arrived, it is said, about 1500 strong at a point on the eastern banks of the Mississippi river a little above the village and crossed over quietly on the morning of May 26th, 1780, landing on the west side in what is now known as Bremen; then by a slight detour they reached the common fields where they found a number of citizens at work, several of whom were killed as were others found outside of the gates. The fleeing citizens gave the alarm and the whole town rushed to arms. The Indians approached the line of fortifications and were met by a resolute defense, consisting of volleys from small arms and discharges of the heavier pieces of ordnance. The latter in particular seems to have confused and terrified the Indian warriors, and seeing the strength of the fortifications they hesitated, fell back, and finally retreated the way they came leaving no trace of their advent save the bodies of over 20 citizens which were found to have been slain and more or less mutilated. Such was the tragic affair called "le grand coup" by the

French chroniclers of local events, and but for the quick and resolute defense made by the inhabitants on that memorable day the infant settlement might have been nipped in the bud.[12] *Le grand coup* is commemorated by one of Wimar's frescoes in the north niche of the Court House dome.

After this experience St. Louis was regularly fortified with a dozen or more bastions, demi-lunes and towers connected by a stockade pierced with loopholes for small arms. This line of defense encircled the town from a point on the river about the foot of Chouteau avenue to a point on the river about the foot of Morgan street, the western line running almost parallel with and little west of Third street. At this time the town must have presented quite a picturesque medieval sort of appearance. But no further attack was ever made, and after the Revolutionary War was closed these fortification gradually fell into decay and were finally abandoned.

Soon after this affair De Leyba was removed[13] and Governor Cruzat returned to St. Louis to take charge of Upper Louisiana. During his second administration the town was more permanently fortified, as above described, and the first step was also taken in the direction of a local municipal government, for it appears that in 1782 "syndics" were appointed by Governor Cruzat on petition of certain inhabitants, and that these syndics were invested with authority to regulate

[12] The King of Spain "in proof of his sovereign gratitude" to Captain de Leyba for his vigorous defense of the village, conferred upon him the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, 18 Wisc. Hist. Collections, 409.—[Ed.]

[13] De Leyba was not removed, but died in office in St. Louis and was buried in the old church, 28 June, 1780, by the side of his wife, who died in September, 1779. So far as the records preserved in the archives afford basis for judgment, De Leyba seems to have been a man of good character and ability, and to have been a good governor.—[Ed.]

the police of the village as well as the enclosure of its commons.

In 1788 Cruzat was succeeded by Don Manuel Perez, and he in turn was succeeded by Don Zenon Trudeau in 1793. Finally, in 1799, came Charles Dehault Delassus, the last and most popular governor of the Spanish succession.

We now come to the events which finally brought St. Louis under the flag of the United States. Spain had never reaped any substantial advantages from her dominion over the Louisiana territory, on the contrary it had rather been a burden, and in the year 1800, Spain availed itself of an opportunity to strike a bargain with Napoleon Bonaparte whereby the whole of Louisiana territory was retroceded to France in consideration of an assurance on the part of Napoleon that the Spanish King's son-in-law (the Duke of Palma) should be established on the throne of Etruria, one of the little kingdoms which Bonaparte had created in Italy.

This arrangement between Spain and France was kept secret for awhile; when it became publicly known it caused a profound sensation in the United States. The free navigation of the Mississippi river to its mouth had become an important subject in the minds of the American people; there had been some friction with Spain on the subject, but temporary arrangements and mutual concessions had been made so as to establish a *modus vivendi.* But the transfer of jurisdiction to a strong progressive and aggressive nation like France was looked upon as dangerous to the future development of American interests in the west. In 1802 President Jefferson wrote to Robert H. Livingston, our minister at Paris: "There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass

to market, and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce, and contain more than half of our inhabitants. France, placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance. Spain might have retained it quietly for years."[14]

Livingston was instructed to begin negotiations at once for the acquisition of New Orleans and some adjacent tracts on the Mississippi, but these overtures did not meet with encouragement. The Peace of Amiens had just been concluded and Bonaparte had the idea of extending rather than reducing the colonial policy of France. In 1803 Jefferson sent Monroe as a special envoy to Paris to co-operate with Livingston in these negotiations. Before his arrival a new turn had taken place in European affairs. France was confronted with a new and threatening war in which Russia, Austria and Sweden were about to unite with England against France. Under these circumstances Bonaparte had neither troops nor ships to spare for the occupation of outside possessions.

M. Feyrol, author of "Les Francais en Amerique" reports the progress of these negotiations as follows: "At this time, Bonaparte was on the eve of declaring war against England, he knew that the English fleet would attack New Orleans. England, he said to his ministers has 21 warships in the Gulf of Mexico, and I have not a moment to lose in placing Louisiana beyond their reach. These American envoys only ask for a single town in Louisiana; but I consider the whole colony as already lost. A few days later, while walking in the gardens of Saint Cloud with M. Marbois, in whom he had more confidence than in M. Talleyrand, he said to him: 'You are in charge of the treasury, Monsieur; very well, ask them one hundred millions and let them take the whole country.' " Mar-

[14] Jefferson's Works, Vol. 4, p. 432.

bois put in a plea for the French colonists, but Bonaparte would not listen and the price finally fixed for the cession was eighty million francs, from which twenty millions were to be deducted by the United States on account of certain claims of American citizens against France. M. Marbois and Messrs. Livingston and Monroe signed the treaty on the 30th of April, 1803. After signing the treaty the American plenipotentiaries arose and shook hands. "We have lived a long time," said Livingston, "but this is the best work of our lives." The net price paid France by the United States was sixty million francs, or fifteen millions of dollars, a small consideration indeed when we consider that the territory acquired included the present States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Dakota, and portions of Colorado, Idaho, Montana and Indian Territory.[15]

CHAPTER III.

Under the Stars and Stripes.

1804—1908.

When the United States acquired Louisiana, the population of St. Louis was only 925 souls. Major Stoddard, who took possession of Upper Louisiana on behalf of the United States in 1804, describes the town as follows:

"The situation of the town is elevated; the shore is rocky, which effectually prevents the encroachments of the river. It has two long streets running parallel

[15] Lower Louisiana, which extended northward to a line running due west from a point on the Mississippi River near the mouth of the Arkansas, was transferred by Spain to France 30 November, 1803, and by France to the United States 20 Dec., 1803. Upper Louisiana (Alta Luisiana), which comprised the remainder and by far the greater part of the province was transferred at St. Louis on 9 March, 1804, from Spain to France, and on 10 March, 1804, from France to the United States.—[Ed.]

with the Mississippi, with a variety of others intersecting them at right angles. It contains about one hundred and eighty houses, and the best of them are built of stone. Some of them, including the large gardens, and even squares, attached to them, are enclosed with high stone walls; and these, together with the rock scattered along the shore and about the streets, render the air uncomfortably warm in summer. A small sloping hill extends along in the rear of the town, on the summit of which is a garrison, and behind it an extensive prairie which affords plenty of hay, as also pasture for the cattle and horses of the inhabitants." (Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 218).

If we compare this simple picture of the frontier town with the present City of St. Louis, its railroads, steamboats, bridges and commerce, its business palaces and luxurious residences, its parks and boulevards, its churches, libraries and art galleries, its theaters, houses, and all the other incidents of metropolitan city life, we may realize what American energy and enterprise has accomplished in a hundred years.

It is not within the scope of this sketch to trace step by step the material growth of the city, nor its development in detail along the lines of modern civilization and culture, but rather to point to a few things only as milestones of progress in its history, leaving the reader who may be interested in pursuing the subject further to resort to some of the larger histories of this community which are replete with statistical information of much value and interest.

Soon after the change of government, St. Louis and surroundings began to attract emigrants from the older States; Indian traders, land speculators, merchants, mechanics and farmers. The Anglo Saxon pulse began to throb in the community. New avenues of trade were opened; the broad acres of Missouri and Illinois were gradually subjected to cultivation, and the trader pushed his expeditions into the far west for furs and peltries.

Some of the events which usually mark the progress of a community may be summarized as follows:

A postoffice was established in 1804; the first newspaper in 1808; the village was incorporated as a town November 9, 1809; the first bank was established in 1816; the first brick building erected in 1816;[16] in 1822 St. Louis was incorporated as a city, divided into three wards with a mayor and nine aldermen. The city then had a population somewhat over 5,000. Dr. William Carr Lane was elected the first mayor of the city. The first waterworks went into operation in 1832, up to which time water was procured from springs and wells or directly from the river. Gas light was introduced in 1849. Our admirable sewer system which has contributed so much to the health and progress of St. Louis was inaugurated in 1849 over much opposition by individual property owners on account of the expense.

An event of more than ordinary import was the arrival of the first steamboat, the "General Pike," August 2d, 1817, which marked a new era in the growth and commerce of St. Louis. The locomotive, which marked another era, did not make its appearance until 1853, and the first bridge across the Mississippi river was opened to traffic in 1876. It is known as the Eads Bridge; so named after its projector and constructor, Capt. James B. Eads.

For a long time education was left to parochial and private schools. It was not until 1837 that the first public free schools were established—one on Fourth and Spruce streets, and one on Broadway and Cherry street.

[16] The first brick building in St. Louis was a storehouse erected, in 1812, by Mr. Bartholomew Berthold, on the east side of Main street, a little north of Market. The first brick dwelling house was built, in 1815, by Judge William C. Carr, at the southeast corner of Main and Spruce streets. It is still standing, and in habitable condition.—[Ed.]

There was no school for higher education connected with the public school system until 1853 when a High School was organized. A handsome building, erected for its use on the northeast corner of Olive and Fifteenth streets, was occupied in 1856. St. Louis University, the oldest college of St. Louis, where so many of its prominent citizens received their higher education, was founded under the auspices of the Catholic church and was chartered in 1832. Washington University was chartered as a non-sectarian institution in 1857; it was founded and is now maintained by the private endowments of public spirited citizens. The Mercantile Library, of which St. Louis is justly proud, was established in 1846; and the "Public School Library," the predecessor of our present great "Public Library," was established in 1865.

It has already been stated that the first church, "a tiny log affair," was erected as early as 1770, on Second and Market streets; the second church, erected in 1776, is briefly described as "a wooden structure 65 feet long and one-half that measure in width, with a veranda five feet wide running around the whole structure." Until the change of government in 1804 and for some time thereafter St. Louis was essentially, almost exclusively, a Catholic community, but with American immigration also came the Protestant church. According to Devoy's History of St. Louis the first Protestant church building was erected by the Baptists in 1818 on the corner of Third and Market streets; the first Episcopal service was held in 1819 in a brick building on the southwest corner of Second and Walnut streets, and the first Presbyterian sermon was preached November 6th, 1814.[17]

The first theater building, a frame structure on Main street between Olive and Locust streets, was erected

[17] Devoy's St. Louis, p. 170.

by public subscription in the year 1819, and was opened with Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer," but there had been dramatic performances previous to that time. Shakespeare made his debut in St. Louis July 25th, 1818, when a mixed company of professionals and amateurs announced "The play of Henry the Fourth or humors of Sir John Falstaff." St. Louisans evidently believed in early hours in those days judging from the announcement: "Doors open at 5:30 p. m., performance to commence at 6:30 p. m." In 1827 the structure above spoken of was succeeded by the "Salt House Theatre," on Second street between Olive and Locust, so-called because it was an old salt warehouse converted into a theater. The opening performance of this theater was "The Honeymoon." Finally, in 1837, a spacious and elegant structure was erected on Third and Olive streets (where the old postoffice building now stands). This theater was for a long time successfully and ably conducted by Messrs. Ludlow and Smith, who occupied a prominent position in the theatrical affairs of the West.

In 1812 the name of Upper Louisiana was changed to Missouri and a territorial government organized, with St. Louis as the seat of government. William Clark, of the famous Lewis and Clark exploring expedition, was appointed Territorial Governor, and continued in office until the state was admitted into the Union. In 1820 after that memorable national struggle over the slavery question which ended in the "Missouri Compromise," the state was admitted into the Union. Alexander McNair of St. Louis was elected governor. Thomas H. Benton and David Barton, both of St. Louis, were elected as the first United States Senators, and John Scott of Ste. Genevieve the first member of the House of Representatives. The first state legislature assembled at the "Missouri Hotel" on the southwest corner of Main and Morgan streets.

In 1816, while Missouri was still a territory, an important and far reaching change took place in the laws of this part of the country. The Spanish law had been introduced throughout Louisiana in 1769 when O'Reilly took possession on behalf of the Spanish crown. It remained in force up to and after the change of government; so that when the Americans came to St. Louis they found that instead of the familiar principles of Blackstone and the English common law it was the Partidas and the Spanish colonial code which furnished the rules of decision in all controversies and the forms for contracts and other legal transactions.[18]

[18] "The provincial institutions of the Spaniards together with the municipal and other laws, have arrived to as much perfection as the policy of the government, and the circumstances of the people, will admit. These have been collected, examined and digested with great care and labor; such only have been retained as experience dictated to be useful, and those of a different character were consigned to oblivion. This digest bears the stamp of authority in all the provinces, and is denominated the code of the Indies. In all cases where the code is silent the general laws of Spain, called the laws of the partidas, prevail in all the tribunals. * * * But the misfortune was, that very few of the public officers, except those attached to New Orleans, were acquainted with them. None of them were ever published, except one or two hereafter noticed, and those disposed to consult them were obliged to examine a voluminous digest. This obstacle to legal information made it necessary for many of the subordinate officers at a distance from the capital to decide according to their conceptions of equity except where they were aided by the written instructions of their superiors." Stoddard's *Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana*, pp. 271-273.

"The lieut.-governor, who resided at St. Louis, was the commander of the militia, and had a general superintendence of the public works and property, but I do not know the exact extent of his power. The laws of Spain were in force here; but it does not appear that any others had been in practice besides those which related to lands and the municipal arrangements. Laws regulating civil contracts are so intimately interwoven with the manners of a people that it is no easy task to separate them; here *la coutume de Paris*, the common law of France, was the system by which their contracts were governed." Brackenridge, Views of Louisiana, p. 133.—[EDITOR'S NOTE.]

Out of deference to the older inhabitants, who had become accustomed to the Spanish forms and knew none others, this state of things was allowed to continue until 1816 when by an act of the territorial legislature the common law of England was formally adopted as the basis of jurisprudence. This change of course was not retroactive, and for a long time afterwards our St. Louis courts were obliged to settle disputes according to the Spanish law particularly in regard to land titles, and this to some extent is still the case.

The treaty by which Louisiana was ceded to the United States, called the Treaty of Paris, was dated April 30th, 1803. By the third article of that treaty it is provided that the inhabitants "shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion which they professed." The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the word "property," as used in this clause of the treaty, includes any right, legal or equitable, inceptive, inchoate or perfect, which, before the treaty with France, had attached to any piece or tract of land." (Bryan vs. Kennett, 113 U. S. 132, and Strother vs. Lucas, 12 Peters 434.)

At the time of the transfer there were a great many inchoate and imperfect land titles in and around the village of St. Louis; titles which rested in possession only or in informal grants by local officials. Congress endeavored to discharge its duty in the premises by providing for a board of commissioners and other officials before whom claimants under Spanish titles might appear, prove up their claims and obtain confirmation from the United States. But in many instances this was neglected. This, together with inaccurate surveys, uncertain locations and conflicting claims afterwards gave rise to a great deal of land litigation involving

these Spanish titles, and some of which litigation is still going on.

Among the distinguished foreigners who visited St. Louis in its earlier days may be mentioned the Marquis de Lafayette in 1825, John J. Audubon in 1842, Charles Dickens in 1842, William M. Thackeray in 1857, Jenny Lind in 1851, and the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII.), in 1860.

Charles Dickens, who loved to look at the seamy side of everything he saw in America, describes a part of St. Louis, as it appeared to him in 1842, as follows:

"In the old French portion of the town the thoroughfares are narrow and crooked, and some of the houses are very quaint and picturesque; being built of wood, with tumble-down galleries between the windows, approachable by stairs, or rather ladders, from the street. There are queer little barbers' shops, and drinking-houses, too, in this quarter; and abundance of crazy old tenements with blinking casements, such as may be seen in Flanders. Some of these ancient habitations, with high garret gable windows perking into the roofs, have a kind of French shrug about them; and, being lop-sided with age, appear to hold their heads askew besides, as if they were grimacing in astonishment at the American improvements."[19]

Thus far nothing has been said about music, art and public parks. Music has been cultivated in St. Louis since the earliest days, and various musical societies have introduced and maintained a high standard. One of the earliest of these societies, if not the earliest, was the Polyhymnia, under the direction of William Robyn, organized about 1849. It was followed in 1859 by the Philharmonic, long under the direction of Edward Sobolewski. Then came the Musical Union, under the direction of August Waldauer, which con-

[19] American Notes by Charles Dickens.

tinued the good work until more modern days, when it, in turn, gave way to the present numerous associations which represent every phase of the musical art.

Our esteemed fellow citizen, Mr. Emile Karst, whose name has so long been identified with the cultivation of music in this city, recently contributed some interesting reminiscences to the readers of the Globe-Democrat, from which I take the liberty of extracting the following:

"The first introduction of orchestral music to a St. Louis audience in the concert room took place on the 8th of October, 1845, at the old Concert Hall, then situated on the south side of Market street, between Second and Third streets, where Ole Bull had played, and where concerts were usually given.

"Before any of the citizens of German nationality had found their way to St. Louis, then a French town, inhabited principally by French people of West India and Canadian origin, the music furnished for the gentle, cheerful and hospitable people at their social gatherings, balls, parties or weddings consisted of one or two violins with guitar accompaniment. The music played was of no little merit, as their contradances, minuets, gigues and gavottes came down to the players from compositions of the celebrated masters of the time of Louis XIV. to Charles X.

"During the early '30s the German musicians made their advent in St. Louis—first a clarionetist, then a fagottist, then a French horn, then gradually other instruments, year by year, until one day the most learned of the local musicians, William Robyn, who played every instrument in the orchestra, thought the time had come to call all the city's musicians together and organize a complete orchestra, with stated regular public concerts. The idea found such favorable response on the part of all, both professional and amateur musicians, that after the society, named "The Polyhymnia Society," was duly organized, officers and musical director duly elected, and a few energetic and enthusiastic rehearsals, the following programme was decided on and duly performed, to the wonder and delight of

the audience, but few of whom had ever heard or dreamed of the grand effects of orchestral music:

PROGRAMME OF THE FIRST CONCERT OF THE POLYHYMNIA SOCIETY, OF ST. LOUIS, OCT. 8, 1845, WM. ROBYN, DIRECTOR.

1. Overture—Don Juan.....*Mozart*
   Orchestra.
2. Violin solo.....*De Beriot*
   Mr. Francis Obert.
3. Terzetto for soprano, tenor and bass.....*Sigismund Newkorn*
   Soprano, Mrs. Obert; tenor, Mr. Eggers; basso, Mr. Christian Kribben.
4. Overture—Acteon .....*Auber*
   Orchestra.
5. Overture—La Gazza Larda.....*Rossini*
   Orchestra.
6. Flute solo.....*Toulu*
   Mr. Wm. Robyn.
7. The Posthorn, baritone song, Mr. Kribben; cornet obligato, Mr. Wm. Robyn.
8. Violoncello solo.....*Mr. Henry Robyn*
9. Grand valse.....*J. Strauss*
   Orchestra.

The fine arts have found their chief representation in the Museum and School of Fine Arts on Locust street, originally endowed by the late Wayman Crow. The Art Museum, with its valuable collection of paintings, has now been removed to Forest Park, and by a vote of the people it has been recognized as a public institution, to be maintained by a municipal tax of one-fifth of a mill, to be levied for that purpose.

Parks have been called the "lungs" of a city; but they have another significance, aside from the sanitary point of view. Communion with nature is one of the necessities of the moral and spiritual life. Lord Bacon says: "God Almighty first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirit of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handy-works." This important adjunct to city life, so puri-

fying and elevating to the soul of man, has been generously provided for by the wisdom of bygone days. Forest Park, Tower Grove Park, and half a dozen others, afford a variety of nature's sylvan and floral beauties, culminating in the celebrated Missouri Botanical Garden, the gift of the late Mr. Henry Shaw. The only cause for regret is that the two spots reserved for trees, grass, flowers and fountains in the center of the city have been seized for other purposes and filled with brick and mortar.

And now the printer reminds the writer that this sketch has already reached its contractual limits. Thus we are hampered in our ambitions in life by the ignoble limitations of time, space and economics. And so I must steer my discourse to the close, and yet nothing has been said about some of the most serious episodes in the life of our community—the great flood of 1844, when the waters crept up to Main street on this side of the river and turned the low lands of Illinois into a great inland sea—the great fire of 1849, when the business part of the city, from Locust to Market streets, was destroyed—the cholera of 1849, when the angel of death hovered over this city for nearly four months, decimated its population and struck terror into the hearts of all—the war period, when the tramp of infantry, the clatter of cavalry, and the rumbling of heavy ordnance was heard along our streets by day and by night, and St. Louis was once more encircled by a cordon of forts, and finally, the great tornado of 1896—nor has anything been said about the culminating glory of our new St. Louis, the great Exposition of 1904, when the nations of the earth assembled in our city to display their best achievements—all these things must be left to the reader to fill out, in his own way, from other sources.

And what as to the future? We are told by the census that during the last two decades nearly six millions

of people in the United States moved from the country to the cities. We are told that when George Washington was first inaugurated, but three per cent of the population lived in cities, but that in 1890 the ratio had increased to twenty-nine per cent—almost one-third of the entire population. There seems to be an ever-growing attraction in great centers of population. The reasons are economic, social and educational. Whether we agree with them or not, the fact remains as a sociological factor to be considered in planning for the future. We have passed the half million mark of population in St. Louis, and will reach a million at no very distant day. We will step into line with the great cities of the world and must assume the corresponding duties of such a responsible position. Much has been done but much more remains to be done. May our civic undertakings be planned with due regard for the important mission which this city is destined to fulfil commercially, morally and socially. The growth of our cities has aroused the attention of the American people to the importance of municipal government, not only with reference to the people who dwell in cities, but to the nation of which they form so important a part. Perhaps no part of the American system of government has caused so much criticism as the government of our large cities. It may be said that the weakest point in American government is the administration of public affairs in these municipal corporations. Civic duties must be cultivated if we want to avert civic deterioration. The neglect of these duties by our so-called best citizens, who assume that everything must be done for them, nothing by them, is one of the chief causes of American municipal government, such as it is. We probably have just what we deserve to have, and the wonder is that it is no worse. What we want is not only honesty, but also efficiency.

A modern writer (Mr. Conkling) concludes an inter-

esting book on City Government in the United States with the following paragraph, with which quotation I will also conclude this sketch:

"Great cities are the danger points of our national life, and hence municipal government is best worthy of the careful thought of our citizens. Underneath all remedies that may be suggested for the better government of our municipalities is the inculcation of the doctrine that they must be ruled on sound business principles, and that the questions of policy that divide the best men in national politics have no place in the choice of municipal officers."

LIST OF BOOKS ON HISTORY OF ST. LOUIS CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE FOREGOING PAPER.

ANNUAL REVIEW; History of St. Louis, improvements of the year, etc. (1854.)

BILLON, F. L.
Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish domination. (1764-1804.) (1886.)

BILLON, F. L.
Annals of St. Louis in its territorial days, 1804-21. (1888.)

CHOUTEAU, AUGUSTE.
Fragments or narrative of the settlement of St. Louis, a literal translation from the original French MS. in the possession of the St. Louis Mercantile Library. (1858.)

CITY OF ST. LOUIS, metropolis of the great west and south. (1892.)

COX, JAMES.
Old and new St. Louis; a concise history with a biographical appendix. (1894.)

DARBY, JOHN F.
Personal recollections of events relating to St. Louis during the first half of the century. (1880.)

DEVOY, JOHN.
History of the City of St. Louis and vicinity from the earliest times to the present. (1898.)

EDWARDS and HOPEWELL.
The Great West and her metropolis, St. Louis. (1860.)

HEINRICHS, G.
St. Louis und Carondelet sonst und jetzt. (1873.)

HOGAN, JOHN.
Thoughts about the City of St. Louis. (1854.)

HYDE and CONARD.
Encyclopedia of the history of St. Louis. 4 vols. (1899.)

KARGAU, ERNEST D.
Mercantile, industrial and professional St. Louis (1902.)
NICOLLET, JEAN NICOLAS.
Sketch of the early history of St. Louis. (1843.)
OVERSTOLZ, HENRY.
City of St. Louis; its history, growth and industries; address. (1880.)
REAVIS, L. U.
St. Louis, the future great city of the world. (1870.)
SCHARF, J. THOMAS.
History of St. Louis city and county from the earliest periods to the present day. 2 vols. (1883.)
SHEPARD, ELIHU H.
Early history of St. Louis and Missouri, 1673-1843. (1870.)
STODDARD, AMOS.
Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana (1812).
SWITZLER'S History of Missouri. (1879.)
WILLIAMS, HENRY W.
History, abstracts of title, evidences of location, etc., relating to the common field lots of the South Grand Prairie and cul de sac of the Grand Prairie. (1854.)

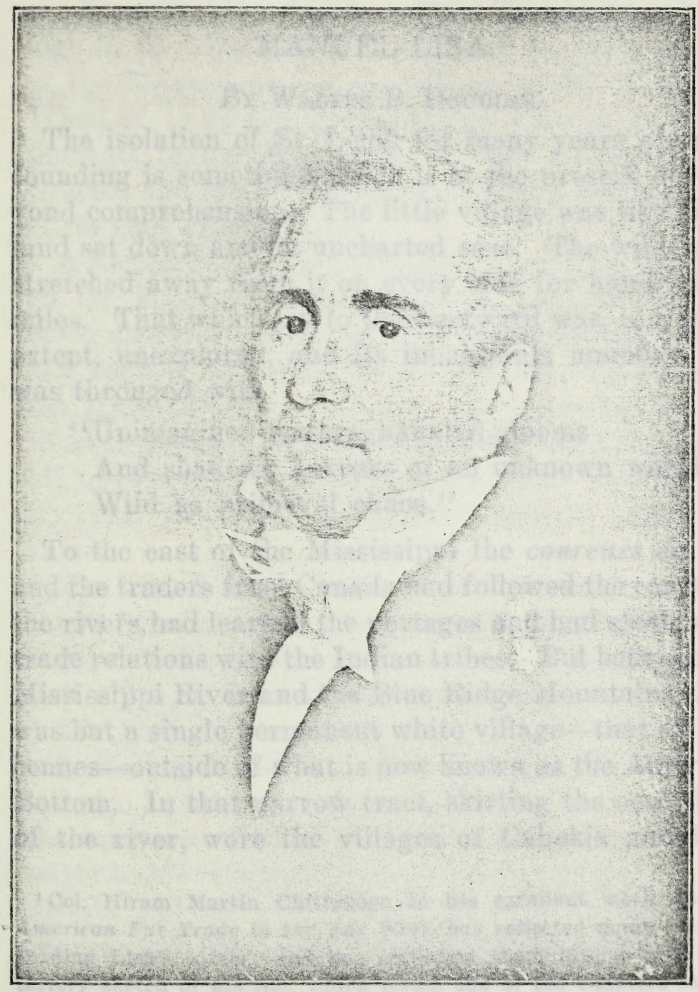
BAPTISM OF GEN. BERNARD PRATTE.

Le vingt sept D'aoust mil sept cent soixante onze par nous Curé De L'Immaculate Conception De Notre Dame Des Kaskaskias soussigné ont été supplées les Ceremonies Du St. Bapteme a Bernard né le Douze de Juin de la present Année Du Legitime mariage De Jean Baptiste Pratte et De Marie Anne La Lumaudière son épouse habitants de Ste. Genevieve. Le parain a été Le Sr. Bernard Gibkins Chirurgien, et la Marraine thérèse La Lumaudière le parain a signé avec nous ainsi que la mère presente: La maraine a Declarée ne sçavoir signé.

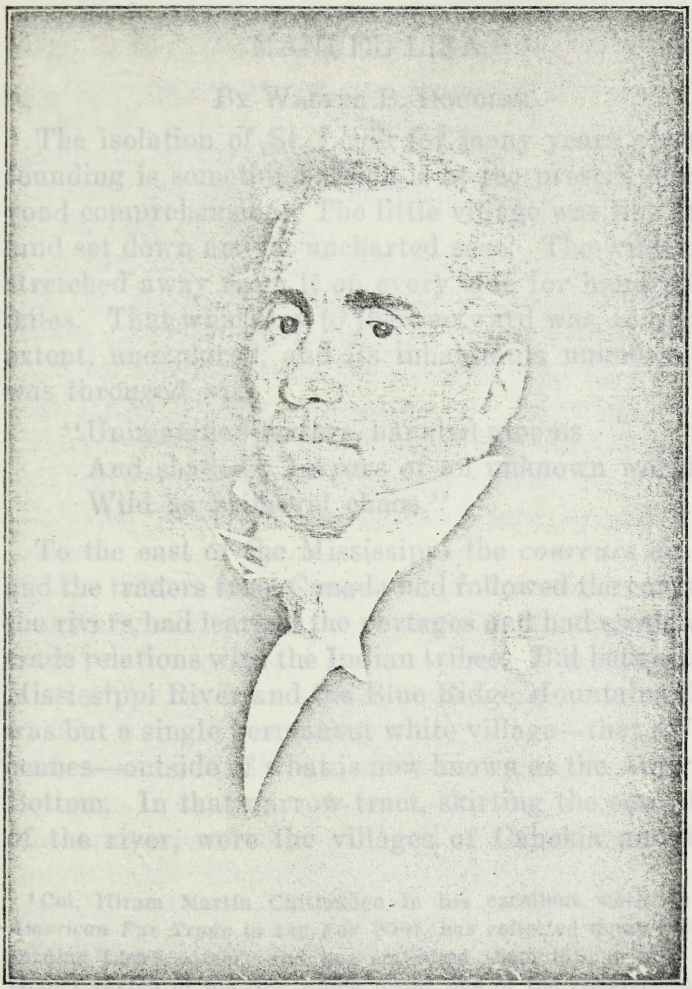
P^r^ Gibault P^tr^

Marie Anne La Lumaudière
Femme Pratt
Bernard Gibkins

From Kaskaskia Church Register.



Manuel Lisa



Manuel De Lisa

MANUEL LISA.[1]

By Walter B. Douglas.

The isolation of St. Louis for many years after its founding is something which is at the present day beyond comprehension. The little village was like an island set down amidst uncharted seas. The wilderness stretched away from it on every side for hundreds of miles. That which lay to the westward was, to a great extent, unexplored, and its inhabitants unknown. It was thronged with

> "Unimagined terrors, haunted glooms
> And shadowy horrors of an unknown world,
> Wild as primeval chaos."

To the east of the Mississippi the *coureurs de bois* and the traders from Canada had followed the course of the rivers, had learned the portages and had established trade relations with the Indian tribes. But between the Mississippi River and the Blue Ridge Mountains there was but a single permanent white village—that of Vincennes—outside of what is now known as the American Bottom. In that narrow tract, skirting the east shore of the river, were the villages of Cahokia and Kas-

[1] Col. Hiram Martin Chittenden in his excellent work on *The American Fur Trade in the Far West*, has collected many facts regarding Lisa's career; and has embodied them into a very satisfactory sketch of his life, which forms one of the chapters in that interesting book. Many of the statements in this paper for which no authority is cited, are based upon Col. Chittenden's work. Valuable assistance has also been given by Miss Idress Head, Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society; by the Kansas State Historical Society and Hon. George W. Martin, of Topeka, and by Doane Robinson, Esq., secretary of the State Historical Society of South Dakota. Miss French's article on Lisa in Volume IV of the South Dakota Historical Collections did not come under the writer's observation until after this paper was substantially complete.

kaskia, the great fortress of Fort Chartres, and the little hamlets which clustered about it. On the Arkansas River was the Arkansas Post, the oldest white village in the Mississippi Valley, and on the west bank of the Mississippi was the village of Ste. Genevieve. When St. Louis was founded these were all of the settlements in the Mississippi Valley, excepting New Orleans and the few straggling villages near the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

A fort had been built and maintained for a few years on the Missouri River, some two hundred and fifty miles above its mouth, in what is now Carroll County, and another was still in existence near the mouth of the Kaw. Daring *voyageurs* had ascended the Missouri to beyond the Platte, and others had crossed the plains to Santa Fe. But beyond this, the western country was practically unexplored and its people unknown.

The life of a man engaged in business in early St. Louis bore as little resemblance to that of the merchant of today as did the country in which he lived to that which we know at the present time.

The trade of the villages was insignificant. It was into the depths of the wilderness that the merchant must go to barter his wares. He must hunt out tribes, the existence of which he knew only by rumor. What might be his reception by these capricious people of the forests and the plains could never be foretold. His chances to perish or to prosper were about evenly balanced. Yet such was the charm of the free and adventurous life in the wilds, such was the delight in braving the ever-present dangers, and so great were the substantial rewards of success, that there was never a lack of men ready to lead or to follow. It was these men who were the real pathfinders. From the Mississippi to the depths of the mountains and from Canada to Mexico, the St. Louis traders were the pioneers.

They spied out the whole land, and taught the inhabitants the power of the white man.

Among these men, by no means the least notable figure, was that of Manuel de Lisa.[2]

The high character and great boldness of this man, the importance of his work, the atmosphere of romance which surrounds his adventures, the men with whom he was associated and the fact that he was the pioneer white resident of the country which is now comprised in the States of Montana and the Dakotas, make it surprising that the story of his life is so little known.

It is stated upon his tombstone in Bellefontaine Cemetery in St. Louis that Lisa was born at New Orleans, 8 September, 1772.[3]

His parents were Christoval de Lisa, a native of the City of Murcia, in Spain, and Maria Ignacia Rodriguez, who was born in St. Augustine, Florida. Where the marriage of his parents took place has not been learned.

Christoval de Lisa came to Louisiana at the time the Spanish took possession of the country, coming no doubt with O'Reilly, "he being then in the service of Spain, and died in the service."[4]

[2] For a time after becoming a resident of St. Louis, Lisa signed his name Manuel de Lisa. Later he dropped the *de* in his signature to business documents, retaining it in others. Finally he dropped the *de* altogether. The pronunciation of the name seems to have been Lee-saw.

[3] In his petition to Gov. Trudeau (hereafter mentioned), for a grant of land to his brother Joachim, he speaks of Joachim as his elder brother (*su hermano mayor*). The church register at New Orleans gives the date of the birth of Joachim de Lisa as 21 December, 1774, from which it follows that the date given upon Lisa's tombstone must be erroneous. The name of Manuel Lisa does not appear in the New Orleans church register.

[4] Testimony of Eugenio Alvarez, Public Document, No. 59, House of Representatives, 24th Congress, 1st Session, p. 170. There is no record in the church register at New Orleans of the burial of either Christoval de Lisa or his wife

The story of Manuel Lisa's early youth may become known when the archives at New Orleans and in Spain are made public; until then it must remain unwritten. It is safe to assume, however, that it was not commonplace.

Brackenridge says[5] that he was a sea captain. But this is manifestly erroneous, for when he was not above twenty years old he was at New Madrid, in charge of a trading boat, and described himself as a merchant (*negociant*) of New Orleans.[6]

Two years later, Lisa was again at New Madrid, returning from a trading expedition on the Wabash. A passenger, one Louis Dubois, had fallen overboard from the vessel of which Lisa was the *bourgeois,* or commander, and had been drowned. The *bourgeois* and his *engagés* made affidavit to the facts, and to an inventory of the property of the deceased which was on board, and of the letters with which he had been intrusted for carriage.[7]

From New Madrid Lisa came to St. Louis and, on 5 September, 1798, in the presence of Governor Trudeau, he entered into a contract with Joseph Roubidou.[8] No earlier record of his presence in St. Louis is to be found. He returned the next summer and made[9]

[5] *Views of Louisiana; Together with a Journal of a Voyage Up the Missouri River in* 1811. By H. M. Brackenridge, Esq., Pittsburgh, 1814, p. 200.

[6] This appears from a mortgage which he gave upon the "*berge*" and its cargo of peltries to Donna Marie Catherine Sarasin, widow of Don Louis Marquet, to secure the repayment of four hundred and sixty *piastres gourdes* upon arrival at New Orleans. The *berge* is described in the mortgage as being ready to depart on its voyage, and it is recited that the Donna and her daughter were to be passengers thereon.

[7] The papers from which the foregoing information was derived were kindly furnished by Hon. Louis Houck.

[8] This contract is in the archies of the Missouri Historical Society.

[9] Testimony of Jean P. Cabanné, Pub. Doc. No. 59, cited above, p. 349.

petition to Governor Trudeau for a grant of land, as follows:

"To the Lieutenant Governor:

"Don Manuel de Lisa, merchant of New Orleans, for the present in this town of St. Louis, with due respect represents to you that it being his intention to establish himself in this country with his family,[10] which is now ascending the river in a boat of his own, therefore the petitioner wishes to obtain a concession for six thousand arpens of land in superficie upon one of the banks of the River Missouri, in a place where may be found some small creek emptying into the said river, in order to facilitate the raising of cattle, and, with time, to be able to make shipments of salted, as well as dried meat, to the capital . . .

This petition is dated, "St. Louis, 16th July, 1799," and signed "Manuel de Lisa." At the same time he petitioned for a like concession to his elder brother, Don Joachim de Lisa, stating that his brother wished

[10] Just who composed Lisa's family at this time is not known. In Edwards' *Great West* (p. 303) it is said that, "His first wife had long been a prisoner with her child among the Indians, until her release was procured by General Harrison. Her husband had been killed at the same time that she was taken captive. Manuel Lisa saw her and her child, after she had regained her freedom, and pitying her misfortunes and destitution—for the charm of beauty had all fled—he married her; gave a luxurious home to herself and daughter, and treated both in the most affectionate manner until their death." The wife's name, following the French fashion of using the maiden and not the married name, was Charles. Her first name was Mary, though she often signs it Polly. Her first husband's name was Chew. There was a Canadian family by the name of Charles, but it is probable that she was of Virginian stock. Her daughter, spoken of by Edwards, died on 22 February, 1809. Her death is chronicled in the Missouri Gazette of that date as follows:

"Died this morning about ten o'clock, Miss Sally Chew, *aet* 16, daughter of Madame Manuel Lisa, after a distressing illness of about twelve days."

In the Cathedral Parish Register, she is designated, "Salé Manuel Lissa." There was another daughter called in the register "Eulalie Manuel Lisa," who died 10 February, 1818. There is no record of her baptism in the register, and it is likely that she was Lisa's first born child, and was one of the family who came up the river.

"to follow the petitioner and settle himself in the same place where the petitioner's residence has to be."[11] Both petitions were granted by the Governor, and the grants were many years after confirmed by Congress. Joachim Lisa came to St. Louis in 1800, and remained until 1804, when he returned to New Orleans.[12] He gained no place in Missouri history.

Lisa prepared for the coming of his family to St. Louis by buying a home for them on the west side of the *Rue d'Eglise* (Second street), in St. Louis. The house was at the southwest corner of Second and Spruce streets, the lot being the north half of City Block fifty-five.

Jean Baptiste Lorin, *père,* testified[13] that he sold the property one year before the *Année de la Picotté* (the year of the smallpox, 1801), but the deed shows that the sale was made 11 July, 1799.

Lisa's first care seems to have been to look after his fences, in the literal meaning of the words. He testified in 1806, in support of the claim of Antoine Soulard and Jacques St. Vrain to a grant of land at the mouth of the Missouri, in what is now St. Louis County, "that in the month of October, 1799, he went on said land, having first obtained leave from claimants, to cut rails; that he remained there about two months."[14]

But it was not farming or cattle raising that brought Lisa to Missouri. In this same year he, with a number of others, presented a memorial to the Governor protesting against the monopoly enjoyed by the Company of the Missouri.[15]

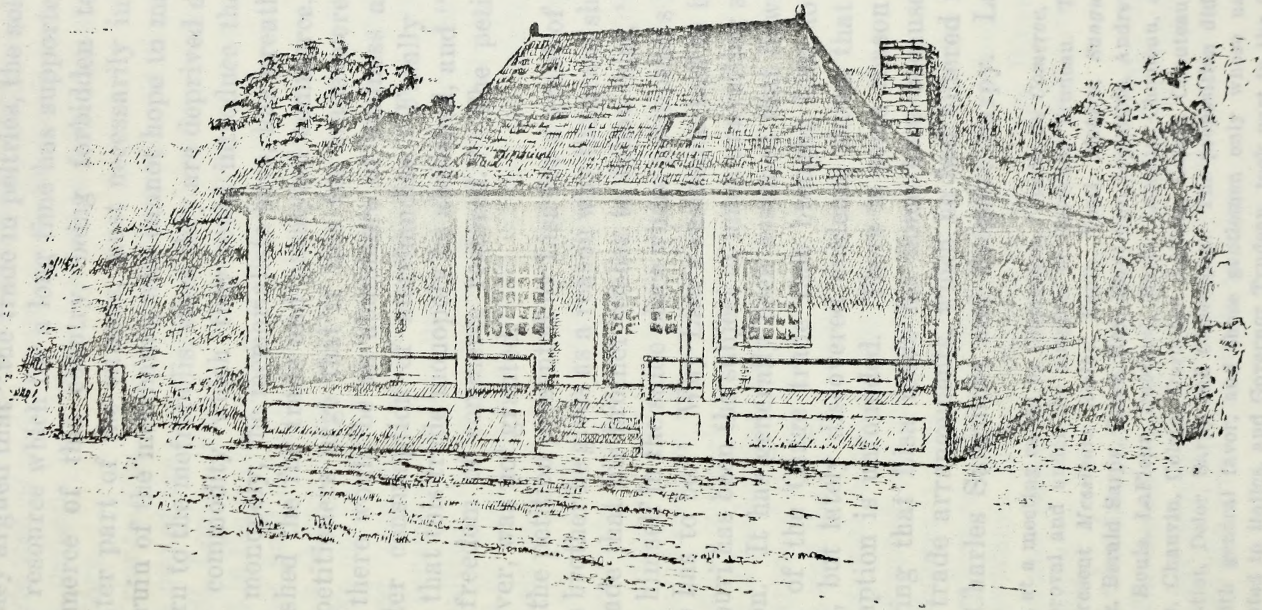
[11] These petitions are found in Pub. Doc. No. 59, cited above, at pages 129 and 347.

[12] Testimony of Jean P. Cabanné, Pub. Doc. No. 59, cited above, p. 348.

[13] 1 Hunt's Minutes, in archives Mo. Historical Society, p. 216.

[14] 17 American State Papers, Public Lands. Vol. II, p. 534.

[15] This was the "*Compagnie de Comerce pour la Decouverte des Nations du haut du Missouri,*" organized 12 May, 1794. It was or-



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LISA HOUSE.

They argued that "the trade in peltries, the sole and only resource which for a long time has supported the commerce of this country, being forbidden to the greater part of the citizens, must necessarily involve the ruin of the merchants, who cannot hope to make a return to the metropolis, since they are deprived of the only commodity which they could introduce there." This monopoly, the memorialists says, has greatly diminished the fur trade and paralyzed commerce, and the petitioners urge that if this fur trade were left free there would be an abundance of business and a greater consumption of merchandise. Finally they pray that this trade monopoly be abolished, and "general freedom of commerce restored." The petition, however, was not granted.

In the petition presented by Lisa for a grant of land to his brother he gives as a reason why the grant should be made that his brother wishes to follow him, "and settle himself in the same place where petitioner's residence has to be." Why Lisa's residence had to be in Missouri has been the subject of much unavailing speculation. It has generally been assumed that it was a grant of the Osage trade that brought Lisa to St. Louis, but lately discovered evidence shows that the assumption is unfounded. There is some reason for believing that Lisa made his home here because of some trade arrangements, which he had entered into with Charles Sanguinet and Gregoire Sarpy. Later

ganized at a meeting called by Clamorgan, "*Sindic du Comerce*, with the approval and under the auspices of Governor Trudeau. There were present *Messieurs Reilhe*, Papin, Yosti, *Motard*, *Sanguinet*, *Vasquez*, Berald Sarpy, Cerré, Roy, *Saint Cyr*, Lecompte, Andreville, Vincent Bouis, LaFleur, *Dubreuil*, Marie, Labadie, Chouteau, *aine*, *Robidou*, Chauvin, Colete, *Durocher*, LaVale, Lajoie, Chouteau, *cadet*, Gratiot, Delor, Sarpy and *Clamorgan*. The proposition did not meet with general favor, and those gentlemen only whose names are printed in italics, and Governor Trudeau, took part in the Company. See further about this Company in Billon's Annals, 1764-1804, p. 283.

a grant of the Osage trade was obtained by them. This trade was of such importance to St. Louis that it will not, perhaps, be without interest to take a glance at its history.

Prior to 1794, the control of the trade with the Osages was one of the perquisites of the Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis. That is, no person was allowed to take part in the trade without a special license, for which he either paid a fee to the Lieutenant-Governor or made him a sharer in the profits. It was necessary for him to eke out in this way the meager salary which he received from the royal treasury. In 1794 the Osages had become more than usually troublesome, and were committing depredations on the whites all the way from St. Louis to Nachitoches, so that the inhabitants scarcely dared to leave the settlements to cultivate the field or to hunt. To restrain them, it was considered necessary to establish a fort on a height overlooking their principal village, which was called Nion-Chou. Auguste Chouteau offered to build the fort and to maintain there a garrison of twenty men, under the command of his brother, Pierre Chouteau, in consideration of a grant of the exclusive trade with the tribe for six years, and the annual payment to him of two thousand dollars, with which to pay the garrison. This offer was accepted and the grant made, to expire in 1800. The Chouteaus built a fort, as was required by the contract, which was named Fort Carondelet, in honor of the Governor. It was situated on the Osage River, at a point now called Halley's Bluff, in Vernon County, Missouri.[16]

Just what happened with relation to the Osage trade when this contract expired is not disclosed, but there is reason for believing that the Chouteaus retained control until the grant was made to Lisa.

[16] 2 Coues's *Expedition of Z. M. Pike*, p. 384.

For the first years of his residence in St. Louis documentary evidence of Lisa's operations is very scanty. There are a few bills in existence which show that he was engaged in the retail trade, and from the record of a law suit of Robert McClellan against Lisa, and suits by Lisa and by Lisa and Benoist against McClellan, it appears that he was about this time also engaged in furnishing outfits for the Indian trade. The suits against McClellan were for goods furnished, and the suit of McClellan against Lisa was for breach of contract, in failing to furnish merchantable goods of the kind and quality usually supplied by the Mackinac merchants. This litigation resulted in judgments against McClellan,[17] and it may have been the cause of the bitter enmity which McClellan afterwards displayed towards Lisa.

A letter of Morales to Governor Delassus, under date 27 August, 1801, shows that Lisa, in connection with Don Carlos Sanguinet, was having some dealings with the Government relating to the Department of Guides, but what they were does not appear. Other letters of Morales to Delassus show that Lisa endeavored to obtain the contract from the government for supplying provisions for "the army"—the soldiers at Saint Louis—but the contract "for the provisions that the King may need for that post for the period of one year" was relet to Auguste Chouteau, not without some ill feeling being manifested by Governor Delassus against Lisa.[18]

In March, 1803, Lisa addressed a protest to Governor Delassus, in the name of Manuel de Lisa and Company, in which he says:

"That in the preceding year a petition was presented to the Governor General of this province, earnestly re-

[17] Record book of the General Court of the Territory of Louisiana, Vol. 1, pp.

[18] Chouteau Collection of Spanish Archives in possession of Missouri Historical Society.

questing him to grant us an exclusive trade privilege for a term of five consecutive years, stating in said document that we would build at our expense a water mill to make flour, this mill to have two runs of stones, equipped after the manner of those of the Anglo-Americans; at the same time we stated in the mentioned petition that we would make a donation of one thousand dollars to the King, to be credited to the royal treasury for use in repairing the fort. For this generous offer, and calling the attention of the Governor to the fact that this would be a general good and would be of benefit to all the people, he has granted us the exclusive privilege of trade, which we requested, with the Great and Little Osages, who are located at mid-distance of the Missouri River (*medio del Rio Misoury*), about forty leagues from its mouth, with power to equip, trade and facilitate by every means our commerce with the savages of that river."[19]

Lisa complains that one Joseph Ortiz had intruded into the trade by sending his son and two men with a canoe load of whiskey (*aguardt*^{e}) to be sold to the traders and hunters for peltries, and that upon the facts being presented to the Governor, his answer had shown the little or no justice that they were to receive from him, and says further:

"Knowing that your intention at all times has been to injure us and give us sufficient and unequivocal proofs of the antagonism you have towards us in matters pertaining to the trade of the Missouri; therefore we are compelled to appeal to the General Judge for our well-founded justice, as through his pious intentions and generous Spanish soul he will grant us justice."

Governor Delassus was so outraged at the language used to him that he at once caused Lisa to be locked up in the calaboose. The matter was submitted to Governor Salcedo at New Orleans. He approved of the action of Delassus, and directed him to inform Lisa "that in future he must behave himself with respect

[19] Spanish Archives, Missouri Historical Society.

and moderation, as he ought to do, otherwise different dispositions will be taken for correction and punishment."[20]

Lisa's imprisonment was not of long duration. On 23 May, 1803, he was at Ste. Genevieve where the commandant, Don Francois Vallé, was his friend. He was then on his way to New Orleans.

About this same time Auguste Chouteau made a claim against "the partners of the trade of the Osage Nation." In this connection it appeared that Lisa's associates were Gregoire Sarpy, Francois M. Benoit and Charles Sanguinet. They stated that they explored together the posts of the Osages, each one furnishing his individual part, but assuming no responsibility for each other.[21]

Lisa did not find the Osage trade like a ripe plum, ready for his hand. The Chouteaus had control of it for so many years that they were not disposed to yield it up to an interloper, as Lisa must have to them seemed to be. They showed no disrespect to the government and acknowledged Lisa's right under his grant. That grant was of the exclusive right to trade with the Osages on the waters of the Missouri River. There were no Osages anywhere else. But Pierre Chouteau,[22]

[20] Chouteau Collection of Spanish Archives.

[21] Billon's Annals, 1764-1804, p. 335. But later they brought suit as partner against John Day, of Astoria fame, upon a note given them by him, and recovered judgment.

[22] Pierre Chouteau was born at New Orleans, 10 October, 1758. He came to St. Louis in September, 1764, and he died there, 10 July, 1849. He testified in 1833, that he was among the Indians for thirty years, during which time he made only short stays in St. Louis. In 1804, he was appointed by President Jefferson United States Agent for the Osages, which position he held for a long time.

Some years after the transfer of the country he retired from active business and devoted himself to the care of his large estate in and about St. Louis. He served for a time in the Missouri militia in which he held the rank of major. He was twice married, first to Pelagie Kiersereau, and, second, to Brigite, daughter of Francois Saucier. He had nine children—eight sons and one daughter.

who had the right to trade with the Indians on the Arkansas, induced a large portion of the Osage Nation to remove from their old territory and establish themselves on the river last named. This separation of the Osages lasted for many years; finally they were reunited.[23]

The transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States, which took place at St. Louis, 10 March, 1804, put an end to Lisa's monopoly. Without exclusive rights, and with Pierre Chouteau holding the position of United States Indian Agent for the Osages, his chances for success in the Osage trade were small. But he did not give up until the influence of the chief representative of the new government was thrown into the scale against him. In 1805, General James Wilkinson was appointed Governor, and he appears to have set himself against Lisa from the beginning. What is known of Wilkinson's attitude is drawn from his correspondence with Captain Pike and from Pike's Narrative. In 1806 Pike was sent by Wilkinson on an exploring trip to the westward; he went up the Missouri to the Osage River, and up that river to the Osage villages, the seat of Lisa's trade. Lisa brought himself into conflict with the party at the outset. Pike had employed Baronet Vasquez, of the well-known St. Louis family of that name, to go with him as interpreter. Vasquez had been in Lisa's employ and was in his debt. Lisa adopted a method, which was long in vogue in St. Louis, of forcing payment by a departing *voyageur* by causing his arrest and forcing him to draw upon his employer for means to meet his obligation. He caused Vasquez to be arrested at St. Charles on civil process for debt; bond was given, however, and he proceeded on the journey. When Pike reached a point on the

[23] Long's *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, Thwaites' Ed. Vol. 3, p. 280; *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Coues's Ed., Vol. 2, p. 559. See also, Lewis and Clark, under date, 26 May, 1804.

Osage River in what is now St. Clair County, he noted in his journal the passing of the place where, in 1805, the Osage chief, Bel Oiseau, and others, were killed by the Sacs in a boat of Lisa's on the way to St. Louis.[23a]

Three days later Pike reached "the place where Manuel de Lisa had his establishment," near where the Chouteaus had built Fort Carondelet, not a vestige of which was then remaining, though four small cannon which had been taken from the fort were found among the Indians. There were at the Osage village three men who had been sent there by Lisa, Jean Baptiste Duchouquette being the leader. Pike detained Duchouquette, as he says, "he having no passport," and took his deposition as to the manner in which he was employed by Lisa. Douchouquette's story was a very innocent one; he testified he had come to collect some debts owing to Lisa; that he had started with some presents for the chief, but that by an unhappy accident they had lost everything in the boat except his (Duchouquette's) gun; that he had bought some ammunition from Monsieur Macclellan (whom he met on the river), to enable him to continue his voyage; that Lisa had told him to have it announced by Noel Saugrain that he and M. Sylvester Labbadie would come in a short time with a lot of merchandise.[24]

After Pike had been gone from the village for about a day, he was informed by a young Indian runner, who overtook him, that Mr. C. Chouteau[25] had arrived at the

[23a] 2 Pike's Expeditions, Coues's Ed., p. 384.

[24] This affidavit of Duchouquette's is printed in 13 *American Historical Review*, at page 823. It was recently found in Mexico by Professor Bolton.

[25] This was Pierre Chouteau, Jr., known as Cadet, or usually, by the people, as "Caddy." He was as this designation indicates, the second son. His father was Pierre Chouteau, and his mother Pelagie Kiersereau, Major Chouteau's first wife. He was born at St. Louis 19 January, 1789; married, 15 June, 1818, his cousin Emelie Gratiot, and died 6 October, 1865. He was a member of the con-

towns. Pike says, "I conceived it proper for me to return, which I did. . . . Mr. Chouteau gave us all the news, after which I scrawled a letter to the general and my friends." The difference in Pike's feeling toward Lisa and Chouteau is very evident. With Chouteau there is no question as to a passport. Lisa's action in causing the arrest of Vasquez might be taken as a sufficient explanation, were it not that it appears that Chouteau had also, in some way, incurred disfavor at headquarters. A letter from General Wilkinson to Pike, dated at Bellefontaine, 18 July, 1806, contains the following: "I have received your letter of yesterday, and concerning your interpreter, without date. I had taken arrangements to secure Bennette (Baronet) when he appeared here and I have now become his security. Manuel is a black Spaniard. He dined here yesterday and left here this morning before the arrival of your letter—this was well for him . . . I shall dress Manuel and Cadet *aussi*. I will teach them how to interrupt national movements by their despicable intrigues."[26]

The general was a man well qualified to know an "intrigue" when he saw it, but he was hardly justified in calling Lisa's attempt to collect a debt by the ordinary process of law an intrigue. Wilkinson had issued a proclamation the year before (1805), prohibiting all persons from entering the Indian country except by permission under his hand.[27]

No statute of the United States or of the territory has been found by which he was given any authority to do this. If he was administering the Spanish law, then Lisa's rights under that law were entitled to be

vention that framed the first constitution of the State of Missouri, a business man of great activity and good judgment, and a citizen who deserved and received the greatest honor and respect.

[26] 13 *American Historical Review*, 814.

[27] 13 *American Historical Review*, 819.

respected. But Wilkinson carried matters with a high hand. He instructed Pike that if he found on his route any persons without a proper license or passport he was to arrest them and dispose of their property "as the law directs."[28]

At that time, and for many years later, the only law in force to the westward of St. Louis was that which was made, as the occasion arose, by the stronger for the weaker.

Wilkinson, on 6 August, 1806, wrote another letter to Pike in which his determination to crush Lisa is clearly apparent.

In that letter he says:

"It is reduced to a certainty that Manuel de Lisa and a society of which he is the ostensible leader have determined on a project to open some commercial intercourse with Santa Fe, and as this may lead to a connection injurious to the United States, and will, I understand, be attempted without the sanction of law or the permission of the executive, you must do what you can consistently to defeat the plan. No good can be derived to the United States from such a project, because the prosecution of it will depend entirely on the Spaniards, and they will not permit it, unless to serve their political, as well as their personal, interests. I am informed that the ensuing autumn and winter will be employed in reconnoitering and opening a connection with the Tetaus (Comanches), Panis (Pawnees), etc., that this fall or the next winter, a grand magazine is to be established at the Osage towns, where these operations will commence; that Lisa is to be the active agent, having formed a connection with the Tetaus. This will carry forward their merchandise within three or four days' travel of the Spanish settlements, where they will deposit under guard of 300 Tetaus. Lisa will then go forward with four or five attendants, taking with him some jewelry and fine goods. With those he will visit the Governor, to whom he will make presents, and implore his pity by a fine tale of sufferings

[28] 2 Pike's Expeditions, Soues's Ed., 566.

which have been endured by the change of government; that they are left here, with the goods to be sure, but not a dollar's worth of bullion, and therefore they have adventured to see him for the purpose of praying his leave for the introduction of their property into the province. If he consents, then the whole of the goods will be carried forwards; if he refuses, then Lisa will invite some of his countrymen to accompany him to his deposit, and having there exposed to them his merchandise, he will endeavor to open a forced or clandestine trade; for he observes the Spaniards will not dare attack his camp. Here you have the plan; and you must take all prudent and lawful means to blow it up."[29]

Wilkinson details Lisa's plans with such particularity (with what accuracy cannot be known), as to induce the belief that his information had been obtained from some one in Lisa's confidence. However that may be, it is not unlikely that Lisa's foreseeing mind had conceived the idea of opening up trade with New Mexico, a trade which a few years later, under other leadership, became of great importance.

But the attitude of Wilkinson barred the way at this time. Against such official opposition success was not to be hoped for either in the Osage trade or the New Mexican project. It was Lisa's nature to be stimulated by adverse circumstances to more vigorous endeavors. In all his actions he showed his faith in the truth of the saying in Don Quixote, "*Que un bueno corazon quebranta mala ventura,*"—a good heart breaks bad fortune. He turned at once to a new field.

The return of Lewis and Clark in 1806 attracted the attention of the people of the United States to the

[29] 2 Coues's Pike, 573; 13 American Historical Review, 800. This letter was printed in the appendix to Pike's account of this expeditions, published in 1810, without Lisa's name. Recently, however, Pike's papers have been discovered in the archives of Mexico by Professor Herbert M. Bolton, and the letter is published in full in the Historical Review as above cited.

Missouri River. To the merchants and traders of St. Louis it was an old story. That river had been navigated by Frenchmen for an hundred years and more. They made their voyages in small parties, and from time to time built temporary trading posts, but had attempted no permanent establishments. Major Thomas Biddle characterized them as "vagrant hunters and traders."

When Lisa was driven to consider the Missouri as the one available direction open to him, he saw at once the futility of the old methods, and the probabilities of great success for an enterprise conducted upon sound business principles. His plan was to establish at convenient situations strong permanent forts which should serve as trading houses, and each of which should be a rendezvous for white hunters and trappers in his employ, and places of deposit for the peltries and furs gathered by them.

He undertook the matter with the untiring energy that marked all his actions. On 19 April, 1807, he started his first expedition up the Missouri River.[30] This

[30] The expedition left St. Louis on that day. Lisa remained as late as 28 April. He joined the expedition probably at St. Charles. John Dunn Hunter (*Memoirs of a Captivity Among the Indians of North America.* By John Dunn Hunter, London, 1824, p. 83) tells a story, which if true, might be authority for the statement that this was not Lisa's first voyage up the Missouri. He gives no dates. "There was at this time," he says, "among the Osages, a trader named Manuel Lisa, a Spaniard or half Indian, who was now bound on a trading expedition up the Missouri, in company with a Mr. McLane, another trader, and several Spanish, French and American boatmen. This Manuel Lisa was an artful, cunning man; he had several private interviews with me, and used every argument in his power to persuade me to accompany him on his intended voyage. I finally concluded to go with him, on condition that some of the Kansas and Osages from White Hair's tribe, would join the party. which they consented to, and about twenty of us, in addition to the hunting party, descended the Osage river and proceeded up the Missouri, in boats constructed for the purpose."

Hunter tells of their journey up the river until finally they

was for Lisa the beginning of a work in which he spent the remainder of his life, and by which he linked his name with that mighty stream for all time coming.

This expedition is generally known as that of Lisa and Drouillard,[31] but Drouillard was the representative or substitute for William Morrison and Pierre Menard of Kaskaskia, who joined with Lisa in furnishing the capital employed, which is said to have been $16,000.[32] The second in command under Lisa was Benito Vasquez, the younger brother of Pike's interpreter, and the party was composed of forty-two men. The historical interest and importance of this expedition will, perhaps, justify the recording of the names, so far as they are known, of the persons engaged. Besides Lisa, Drouillard and Vasquez, there were the following: Etienne Brant, Joseph Brazeau, Francois Bouché, Jean Baptiste Bouché Francois Colas dit Sausquartier, —— Cousin, Jean Baptiste Champlain, *fils,* Pierre Deseve, Antoine Dubreuil, Joseph Laderoute dit Cassé, Jean Lafargue, Jean Baptiste Lusignan, John McPherson, Jean Baptiste Mayette, Calliste Montardy, Jean Muréz, Daniel Murray (who lived at the time at Florissant), ——Poitras, John Potts, Charles Sanguinet, *fils,* and Peter Wiser. Antoine Bissonet was one of the original party, but, having deserted near the mouth of the Osage

reached the neighborhood of the Great Falls. His account of Lisa's dealings with the Indians whom they encountered would indicate that this was his first acquaintance with them.

No less person than Lewis Cass has stigmatized Hunter's book as a romance, and this story of Lisa's voyage is wholly without corroboration.

[31] George Drouillard was of French and Shawnee parentage. He crossed the continent with Lewis and Clark, and Lewis described him as "a man of much merit, peculiarly useful from his knowledge of the language of gesticulation, and his uncommon skill as a hunter and woodsman." He was killed by the Blackfoot Indians near the Three Forks of the Missouri in the spring of 1810.

[32] Billon's Annals, 1804-1821.

River, he was shot by Drouillard, who went in search of him, and he died shortly after. There is reason for believing that Amos Richardson was also one of the original party, but the evidence is not sufficient to warrant the addition of his name to the list. Francois Lecompt "habitant de la Madelain," was met at the Kansas River, 3 June, 1807, and engaged for three years, for which he was to receive $500. The witnesses to his contract were Robert McClellan and François Hortiz.

John Colter joined the party at the mouth of the Platte. And somewhere, further up the river, Forest Handcock, of St. Louis and Boonslick, was enlisted and probably —— Dickson.[33]

The contract between Jean Baptiste Bouché, of Carondelet, (*"habitant de void pouche"*) of the one part, and Lisa and Drouillard of the other part, is still extant. It bears date 7 April, 1807. Bouché agrees with his employers to go with them to the Missouri or other places where they might conduct him or send him to hunt or trade, for three consecutive years, for which he was to receive six hundred and sixty-six *piastres gourdes,* or that value in shaved (*rayé*) deer skins, at three pounds a *piastre.* Should they return to St. Louis before the expiration of three years he was to be paid *pro rata* for the time spent in the service. The contract was a losing one for the employers. Bouché proved to be a *mauvais sujet,* intractable and untrustworthy. His bad conduct was, however, the occasion of Lisa's preparing a written statement of some of the occurrences of the voyage, which, together with Brackenridge's account, derived from his conversations with Lisa, are the main sources of information concerning it. Excepting the unfortunate affair of Bissonet's, the party reached the "dangerous neighborhood of the

[33] See *Lewis & Clark,* under date, 12 June, 1806.

Scioux Nation of Indians" in the latter part of July, without any serious mishap. There Bouché absented himself, contrary to orders, and went hunting. This caused a delay of four days and occasioned much anxiety and discomfort. No Sioux were encountered, however, and the expedition passed that danger point in safety. But it was not so fortunate at the Arikara villages. Lisa had there to show all his generalship.

"Two or three hundred warriors were drawn up, and on his approach, such as had fire arms fired a volley before his boat, to indicate the place where he should land. He accordingly put to shore, but instantly made it known that no one of them was to enter his boat; the chiefs at the same time appointed warriors to stand guard and keep off the crowd. The women, who always trade amongst these nations, came to the beach with bags of corn which they offered; an Indian rushed forward, cut open the bag with his knife, while the women took to flight. Lisa, who was perfectly acquainted with the Indian character, knowing that the least appearance of alarm would be dangerous, instantly called his men to arms, pointed a couple of swivels which were fixed on his boats, and made every preparation for defense. The Indians perceiving this dispersed in confusion; after some time the chiefs approached with pipes of peace extended before them in their hands. Lisa making signs of reconciliation, they came to him and, according to their custom, stroked him on the shoulders, begging him not to be displeased, declaring that the Indian who had offended him was considered a bad man. This had a good effect, and enabled him to proceed on his voyage without further molestation.[34]

Lisa's party was not the only one to ascend the river that summer. Several others left St. Louis together, a few weeks after his departure. Among them was one made up of a detachment of soldiers under the command of Ensign Nathaniel Pryor.[35] which was escort-

[34] Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana, Etc.*, p. 90.

[35] Nathaniel Pryor was a Kentuckian, and a cousin of Sergeant Charles Floyd of the Lewis and Clark party. General James, who

ing to his home the Mandan chief, Shahaka, whom Lewis and Clark had brought down the river in order that he might visit President Jefferson. Another was a trading party under the leadership of Pierre Chouteau, Lisa's ancient rival. These two parties were the only ones that went as far up as the Arickara villages.[36] There they were vigorously attacked by the Indians, had several men badly wounded, and two of Chouteau's men were killed. In consequence they were compelled to retreat, and they returned to St. Louis. Pryor wrote an account of the affair to General Clark, in which he said:

"A Mandane woman, who had been a captive for several years, came on board, from whom I obtained information which could probably have been derived from no other quarter.

She informed me that Manuel Lisa, a St. Louis trader, had passed up sometime before; that he had given the Ricaras, through *compulsion,* I conjecture, a number of guns and a considerable quantity of powder and ball. This man, you recollect, obtained a license from Mr. (Frederick) Bates before your arrival and before the plan which the government had adopted with

met him among the Osages in 1821, says, "He was a sergeant in Lewis and Clark's expedition, and a captain at the battle of New Orleans. On the reduction of the army after the war, he was discharged to make way for some parlor soldier and sunshine patriot, and turned out in his old age upon the 'world's wide common.' I found him here among the Osages, with whom he had taken refuge from his country's ingratitude, and was living as one of their tribe." He was at one time a trader among the Osages, being supplied with goods by Abraham Gallatin of St. Louis, a brother of Albert Gallatin. He died before 22 October, 1831, leaving debts, but no estate other than a couple of hundred dollars which was in the hands of Governor Clark. He left no known heirs. There is a town in Oklahoma named for him.

[36] These villages were situated on the west bank of the Missouri about six miles above the mouth of Grand River, in what is now Boreman County, South Dakota. The river, at this point, runs from east to west, so that the villages were on the north shore. (Information kindly given by Doane Robinson, Esq.)

respect to the Mandane was known at St. Louis. He was, however, still at St. Charles, and it is not forgotten that Mr. Bates, having occasion to visit that village, informed him of the change of arrangements in the upper country, and desired him to remain until my boats should be equipped that he might accompany the expedition.[37]

This, we understood, he had consented to do, and his failure in those engagements has probably obliged him to divert the storm which threatened *his own boat,* by diverting the attention of the Ricaras to *ours.*

He told them, as we learn from this woman, that two boats might be very soon expected; that we had the Mandane chief on board; and that we were to remain for the purposes of trade at their villages. On this, they pillaged him of about half of his goods, and suffered him to pass on, determining in their councils at the same time, to kill him on his return, and to lose no time in preparing to murder the Mandane and his escort as soon as we should arrive.[38]

Brackenridge's account was derived directly from Lisa, and is to be credited in preference to that of the Mandan woman. The erratic ferocity of the Arikaras, as the whites soon learned, needed no incitement from without. Prince Maximilian says that "no tribe has killed so many white men as the Arikaras."

Lisa's next adventure was at the Mandans.

"On his arrival at the first Mandan village he determined to proceed on foot through these villages, which are situated at intervals along the river, in the distance of about twenty miles, while his boats continued to ascend.[39] At this village he held the usual coun-

[37] Mr. DeLand in his *History of the Aborigines of South Dakota* (South Dakota *Historical Collections*), Vol. 3, p. 536, speaks of Pryor's party as a party, too, which he had agreed to accompany. Pryor's words do not justify such a statement"

[38] Annals of Iowa, Vol. 1, 3d series, p. 616.

[39] Brackenridge speaks of Lisa's *boats.* Lisa, himself, in his complaint against Bouché, says, "About this time [25 July] the boat of your petitioner was twice set loose and pushed off from shore in the night time; your petitioner has good reason to believe this

cil with the chiefs, and presented them a few rolls of tobacco and other articles, and was permitted to continue his journey. At the third village his presents were rejected and the chief demanded some powder, which was refused.

Lisa knew that his life was in no danger while his death could not procure them his goods, and resisted their repeated solicitation in a bold and firm manner; he told them that they might kill him, but that his property would be safe. They were finally compelled to accept of such presents as he offered.

A few days after, having passed the Mandans, he espied the Assineboin Nation approaching in a body of four or five thousand souls. These wandering people had learned from their scouts the approach of the traders. The whole prairie, to use his expression, *was red with them;* some on horseback, others on foot, and all painted for war. His situation required the utmost boldness and intrepidity. He charged his swivels and made directly across to the savages, and when he had come within a hundred yards, the match was put, while there was at the same time a general discharge of small arms. This was intended to strike them with terror; the effect was ludicrous; they fell back, tumbled over each other, and fled to the hills with precipitation. A few of the warriors and chiefs only remained. The pipe of peace was presented, and matters concluded amicably. He continued his voyage to the Yellowstone River, which he ascended about one hundred and seventy miles, to the Big Horn River, where he built a trading fort."[40]

Lisa says that he reached the wintering ground on the twenty-first of November, a month late, and that by reason of the delay he lost the fall hunt. At the

was done by said Bouché to expose your petitioner to the loss of his boat and cargo, which certainly would have been the case had not your petitioner by chance awaked one night and saved her, and another night the said George Drouillard saved the boat and cargo thus let loose." From this it would appear that Lisa had but one boat; and it might also be inferred that there was carelessness in the matter of guard duty.

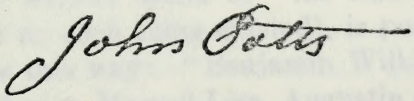
[40] Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 91.

mouth of the Bighorn River, or, as Lisa calls it, the LaCorne, work was at once began upon a trading house, which, when completed, contained two rooms and a loft. A fort was built in the spring of 1808. The name of the fort, as written by Lisa, was "Remon"; but in documents, apparently in the handwriting of Champlain, it is called Fort Raymond.[41]

Of the life at the wintering place but little is known. Colter must have been sent from there, almost immediately upon the arrival of the party, upon his long and lonely journey to the home of the Blackfoot Indians; the journey on which he discovered the wonders of the country long derisively known in St. Louis as "Colter's Hell"—now the Yellowstone Park. The story of one trifling incident of the winter has survived. Etienne Brant was reported to Lisa as having furtively helped himself to whiskey and as having stolen some moccasin awls and some breech cloth. Lisa lost his temper; called Brant a *coquin,* and struck him with his hand, which action of Lisa's was productive of much conversation and some heat in the weeks succeeding.

[41] One of these documents is as follows:

"J'ai reçu de Monsr. Manuel Lisa et Compagnie deux chevaux que m'oblige de lui rendre ici dans le cours de Decembre prochain, si toute fois ils ne meurent pas d'ici au tems susdit, m'obligeant de lui payer a cette epoque la quantite de dix gros Castors de recette pour le loyer de chaque cheval, et s'ils sont voles je m'oblige de les lui payer en entier, c'est a dire, soixante piastres chacun, En foi de quoi j'ai signe le present. Fort Raymond, 7 Juillet, 1808.



Potts was one of Lewis and Clark's men. He was killed by Indians in 1809, while trapping with Colter, and his estate was administered upon at St. Louis by Rufus Easton. The fort was named in honor of Lisa's son Raymond, who was born at St. Louis, 4 December, 1805, and buried there 15 July, 1811. Raymond was, so far as is known, his first born son.

Bouché seems to have kept reasonably quiet during the winter, but in June, 1808, he stirred up an excitement among the men, and induced some of them to make open threats of leaving and going down the river, by telling unfounded stories of the weakness of Lisa's powder.

Lisa left for St. Louis in July. A garrison remained at the fort, but the names or the number of the men left there has not been preserved. Colter and Potts certainly stayed, and probably Wiser also. Lisa reached home on the fifth day of August. He did not go back up the river until the next summer.

During his stay in St. Louis the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company was organized, and when he went up again it was as a partner in that company. St. Louis at that time was in the Territory of Louisiana; Missouri was used in the name of the company to designate the field of operations. It has generally been assumed that the new company was promoted by Lisa. Such may have been the fact, but there is no evidence of it. His undertaking had proved a success. It may be that he wished for more capital in order to extend the business, and for that reason invited others to join with him in the enterprise.

But it is equally consistent with the known facts and the probabilities to assume that he was constrained to take part with others in order to avoid a ruinous competition. The sequence of names in the articles of copartnership (some writers speak of "the charter of the company," but no such thing existed), is possibly significant. It was this way: "Benjamin Wilkinson, Pierre Chouteau, Senior, Manuel Lisa, Augustin Chouteau, Junior, Reuben Lewis, William Clark and Sylvestre Labbadie, all of the town of St. Louis and Territory of Louisiana, and Pierre Menard and William Morrison of the town of Kaskaskia, in the Territory of Indiana, and Andrew Henry of Louisiana." The name of

Dennis Fitzhugh of Louisville, Kentucky, was interlined, but he never took part in the company.[42]

The scheme was a cumbersome one, and it is surprising that Lisa should have agreed to it. With his knowledge of the necessities of the situation, the defects of the plan must have been clearly perceived from the beginning. Each partner was obliged to accompany the expedition in person or send some person approved by a majority of the partners in his place. It was provided that "when the aforesaid expedition shall arrive at or above the Mandan Nation of Indians, each partner accompanying the expedition shall be bound to proceed to and reside at such post or places as may be designated for him by a majority of the company then present, and also when there to do and perform, as far as may be possible, all those duties required of him by such majority of the company." No definite amount of capital was fixed, but each member was required to furnish for the outfit and expenses his equal portion of the sum which the majority decided to be necessary.

The merchandise and horses which Manuel Lisa, Pierre Menard and William Morrison, "lately associated in a trading expedition up the said River Missouri, and have now a fort established on the waters of the Yellowstone River, a branch of the Missoury," have at said fort, is to be accepted by the new company at "one hundred per centum of the first cost," for the merchandise, if undamaged, and thirty dollars for each horse.

The peltries, furs and other property acquired by the company were to be transported to St. Louis and

[42] "Augustin Chouteau" was Auguste Pierre Chouteau, eldest son of Pierre Chouteau. Reuben Lewis was a brother of Governor Meriwether. Andrew Henry lived at the mines, in what is now Washington County, Missouri. Dennis Fitzhugh was a brother-in-law of Gen. William Clark, being the third husband of his youngest sister, Fanny. Benjamin Wilkinson was a nephew of General James Wilkinson, whose conduct towards Lisa has been mentioned above.

there divided equally among the partners. It was agreed that Pierre Chouteau, Manuel Lisa and Pierre Menard were to be the first of the partners permitted to return to St. Louis, but they were required to be back at their posts the next summer; the next members to come down were to be Benjamin Wilkinson and A. P. Chouteau. William Clark was appointed agent of the company to reside at St. Louis, and it was made his duty to receive all property of the company which should be sent down the river, and keep the same until a division should be made. The partnership was to continue for three years.

The first expedition of the new company left St. Louis in June, 1809.[43] In addition to the business of the company, it undertook to carry to his home the Mandan chief, Shehaka, his wife and child. For this service the sum of seven thousand dollars was to be paid by the United States government. By the contract the company was required "to engage and raise one hundred and twenty-five effective men (of whom forty shall be Americans and expert riflemen) who together shall form a body of militia of this Territory, and act in a military capacity." It was further provided that "the command of the said detachment shall be given to Peter Chouteau, the United States agent for the Osage Nation of Indians (who will be specially

[43] Lisa was in St. Louis as late as 9 June, 1809. On that day he signed an agreement submitting to arbitration a dispute between himself and Jacques Clamorgan "relative to the subject of the voyage which the said Clamorgan has just made to the coast of Spain" (*à là cote d' Espagné*), and particularly to decide if there existed between them a copartnership relative to said voyage. The arbitrators chosen by Lisa were Bernard Pratte and Louis Labeaume, and those chosen by Clamorgan were David Delaunay and Marie Philippe Leduc. Their decision was unanimously in Lisa's favor. It is stated in Houck's *History of Missouri* (Vol. 2, p. 60), that Clamorgan was in Mexico in 1808, and it may be that the voyage was to New Spain and not across the ocean. Lisa seems to have been a joint adventurer with Clamorgan.

commissioned and instructed by the Governor for that purpose), until the said expedition shall arrive at the Mandan Nation or villages, and at that place or the last of them, the military functions of the said Chouteau, and the officers appointed under him for this service, shall cease and expire."

In addition to Pierre Chouteau the partners who accompanied the expedition were Lisa, Col. Pierre Menard, Major Andrew Henry, Sylvester Labbadie, Auguste P. Chouteau and Reuben Lewis. William Morrison sent his younger brother, Samuel, in his stead. That Wilkinson did not go appears from the fact that he served on a jury in Judge Lucas's court in August, 1809. He died in February, 1810, on shipboard, while on a voyage from New Orleans to Baltimore. The only account of this expedition written by a participant, is that given by General Thomas James of Illinois, in his book, "*Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans.*"

General James says:

"The whole party, at starting, consisted of 350 men, of whom about one-half were Americans and the remainder Canadian Frenchmen and Creoles of Kas-Kaskia, St. Louis and other places. The French were all veteran *voyageurs,* thoroughly inured to boating and trapping. Manuel Lisa, called by the men 'Esau,' had enlisted many of them in Detroit for this expedition, and hired them by the year. We Americans were all private adventurers, each on his own hook, and were led into the enterprise by the promises of the company, who agreed to subsist us to the trapping grounds, we helping to navigate the boats, and on our arrival there they were to furnish us each with a rifle and sufficient amunition, six good beaver traps and also four men of their hired French, to be under our individual commands for a period of three years. By the terms of the contract each of us was to divide one-fourth of the profits of our joint labor with the four men thus to be appointed to us. But how we were deceived and taken

in will be seen in the sequel. The 'company' made us the fairest promises in St. Louis, only to break them in the Indian country. Lisa,[44] or Esau, or Manuel, as he was variously called, had the principal command. He was a Spaniard or Mexican by birth, and bore a very bad reputation in the country and among the Americans. He had been on the head waters of the Missouri the year before with a company of about fifty men, and had met with great success in catching beaver and trading with the Indians. * * * I went as steersman or 'captain' of one of the barges, with about twenty-four men, all Americans, under my command. There were thirteen barges and keel boats in all. On my barge I had Dr. Thomas, the surgeon of the company, and Reuben Lewis, brother of Merryweather Lewis, the Governor.

We started from St. Louis in the month of June, A. D., 1809, and ascended the Missouri by rowing, pushing with poles, cordeling or pulling with ropes, warping and sailing. My crew were light-hearted jovial men, with no care or anxiety for the future, and little fear of any danger. In the morning we regularly started by daybreak and stopped generally late at night. The partners, or *bourgoises,* as the French called them, were on the forward barge, with a strong crew of hardy and skilful *voyageurs,* and there Liza and some of his colleagues lorded over the poor fellows most arrogantly, and made them work as if their lives depended on their getting forward with the greatest possible speed. They peremptorily required all the boats to stop in company for the night, and our barge being large and heavily loaded, the crew frequently had great difficulty in overtaking them in the evening. We occasionally had races with some of the forward barges in which my crew of Americans proved themselves equal, in a short race, to their more experienced French competitors. We thus continued with nothing of inter-

[44] James, whose disposition to be fair is evident, says later on: "Much of the ill treatment we afterwards received from them, was probably owing to the reckless assertion of our independence on every occasion and at every difficulty that occurred." He is not quite accurate about his contract; each man was to have one-fifth of the product of his hunting.

est occurring until we passed the Platte. Six weeks of hard labor on our part had been spent when our allotted provisions gave out and we were compelled to live on boiled corn without salt. At the same time all the other boats were well supplied and the gentleman proprietors in the leading barge were faring in the most sumptuous and luxurious manner.[45] The French hands were much better treated on all occasions than the Americans. The former were employed for a long period at stated wages and were accustomed to such service and such men as those in command of them, while we were private adventurers for our own benefit as well as that of the company, who regarded us with suspicion and distrust.

Many Americans on the passage up the river, disgusted with the treatment they had received, fell off in small companies and went back. At Côte Sans Dessein most of them returned. On reaching the Mandan country we numbered about ten Americans, having started from St. Louis with about one hundred and seventy-five and an equal number of French. After passing the Platte river my crew were worn down with hard labor and bad fare. Their boiled corn without salt or meat did not sustain them under the fatigue of navigating the barge, and the contrast between their treatment and that of the French enraged them.

A meeting was the result. The company had, on our barge, thirty barrels of pork; and one morning my crew came to me in a body demanding some of these provisions. I commanded them not to break into the pork without permission, and promised, if they would work and keep up till noon, to procure some for dinner. At noon when we stopped the men rolled up a barrel of pork on to the deck and one of them, named Cheek, bestrided it with a tomahawk, crying out—'Give the word, Captain!' I forbade them, as before, and went ashore to find Lewis, who had left the boat at the beginning of trouble. He said the pork was the company's, and told me not to touch it. I said the men

[45] James does not say that there was any inequality in the original outfits of the boats, and we may well believe from what he does say about the conduct of the Americans that they were not disposed to husband their provisions with any care.

would and should have some of it; and went back to the boat to give the 'word' to Cheek. Lewis hastened to the *bourgeoise* in their barge close by, to give the alarm. I could see them, in their cabin, from the shore where I stood, playing cards and drinking. Lewis entered with the news that 'James' crew were taking the provisions.' Manuel Lisa seized his pistols and ran out followed by the other partners. 'What the devil,' said he to me, 'is the matter with you and your men?' 'We are starving,' said I, 'and we must have something better than boiled corn.' At the same time Cheek was brandishing his tomahawk over the pork barrel, and clamoring for the 'word.' 'Shall I break it open, Captain, speak the word,' he cried. While the rest of my crew were drawn up in line on the boat, with rifles, ready for action. The gentlemen *bourgeoise* yielded before this determined array, and gave us a large supply of pork; that is, as much as we pleased to take. A few days after this we stopped to clean out the barges, and the pork in ours was removed to another and its place supplied with lead. * * * We continued our ascent of the river without any occurrences of importance.

Below Council Bluffs we met Capt. Crooks,[46] agent

[46] This was Ramsay Crooks, afterwards so distinguished in the fur trade. He was born at Greenock, Scotland, 2 January, 1787. He crossed the ocean to Canada in 1803, and came to St. Louis in 1805 or 1806. He became associated with Robert McLellan, and had gone up the river with him, having been outfitted by Silvestre Labbadie and Auguste P. Chouteau "*pour chasse de moities*"—to hunt on shares. Crooks and McLellan followed the Fur Company's expedition up the river, and having trouble with the Indians, attributed it, as we have seen Prior did, to the machinations of Lisa; though Lisa was, most likely, wholly ignorant of their intention to follow. Crooks went with Hunt to Astoria, returning in 1813. Shortly afterwards he became associated with Astor, and was a dominating force in the fur trade for many years. In March, 1825, he married Emelie Pratte, daughter of Gen. Bernard Pratte of St. Louis and niece of Silvestre Labbadie. He died in New York 6 June, 1859, leaving several children surviving.

Robert McLellan was born, probably in what is now Franklin County, Pennsylvania, about 1771. He saw military service under Harmar and Wayne, and was sent to St. Louis in connection with the army soon after the transfer. He presently resigned and enter-

for John J. Astor, and who was trading with the Mohaws (Omahas). Here all the few Americans remaining, with myself, were on the point of returning. By the solicitations and promises of the company we were induced to continue with them."

James tells of the adventures of the party with the various tribes of Indians, which were not materially different from the ordinary experiences of the early trading parties. "We built a fort," he says, "near the Gros-Ventres' (Minnitaree's) village, and unloaded all the larger boats for the purpose of sending them back to the settlements." And this he speaks of as the destination of the party. James went with a party on a trapping expedition and sometime in February, 1810, he reached " 'Manuel's Fort' at the mouth of the Big Horn."

"Here," he says, "I found Cheek, Brown, Dougherty and the rest of my crew rejoicing to see me. I was not a little surprised to find Col. Pierre Menard in command, who was to have returned to St. Louis from the fort at the Gros Ventre village, and Lisa intended to take command of the party on the headwaters of the Missouri. Such was the arrangement at the commencement of the voyage. I soon learned from the men what they supposed to be the cause of the change. The next day after I had left the fort on the Missouri, in the fall, Cheek and several Americans were in the office or *marque* of the company, endeavoring to get their equipments according to contract. Lisa was present. Chouteau's name was mentioned in course of the conversation, when Cheek coolly remarked that if

ed into the Indian trade, at first on the Ohio River and then on the Missouri. Duchouquette in his affidavit mentioned above, speaks of having met "Monsieur McClellan" on his voyage from St. Louis to the Osages, and he was a few weeks later encountered by Lewis and Clark (12 Sept., 1806) on the Missouri between the Kansas and the Platte. McLellan and Crooks had separated prior to the expedition of Hunt, but McLellan, meeting the expedition at its first wintering place, enlisted for the journey. After his return he went into business at Cape Girardeau, Missouri; later he removed to St. Louis and died there 22 November, 1816.

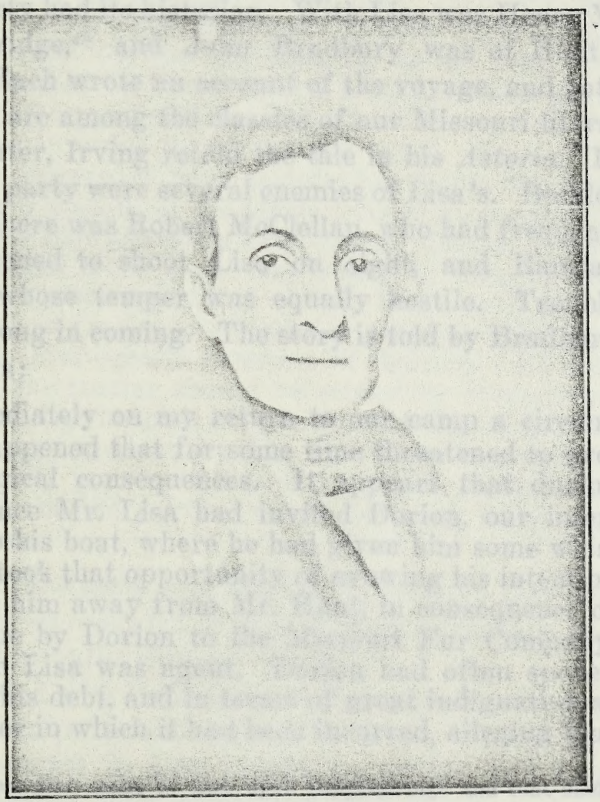
he caught Chouteau a hundred yards from camp he would shoot him. 'Cheek! Cheek!!' exclaimed Lisa, 'mind what you say.' 'I do that,' said Cheek, 'and Lisa, I have heard some of our boys say that if they ever caught you two hundred yards from camp they would shoot you, and if they don't I will. You ought not to expect anything better from the Americans after having treated them with so much meanness, treachery and cruelty as you have. Now Lisa,' continued he, 'you are going to the forks of the Missouri: mark my words, you will never come back alive.' Lisa's cheeks blanched at this bold and reckless speech from a man who always performed his promises, whether good or evil.[47] He returned to St. Louis, and sent up Col. Menard in his place. Col. M. was an honorable, high-minded gentleman, and enjoyed our esteem in a higher degree than any other of the company. Lisa we thoroughly detested and despised both for his acts and his reputation. There were many tales afloat concerning villainies said to have been perpetrated by him on the frontiers. These may have been wholly false or greatly exaggerated, but in his looks there was no deception. Rascality sat on every feature of his dark-complexioned, Mexican face—gleamed from his black, Spanish eyes and seemed enthroned in a forehead villainously low.[48] We were glad to be relieved of his presence.''

Lisa returned to St. Louis in October, 1809. Whether Cheek's threat influenced his actions or not, his return at this time was in accordance with the provisions of the articles of association. In the winter following Lisa undertook to go to Montreal, probably for the purpose of purchasing goods for the company. At Detroit, however, he found that the non-intercourse act (*ce maudi embargau,* he called it), which had been passed in the spring of 1806, but the operation of which

[47] Cheek was himself killed near the forks of the Missouri, bravely fighting single handed against the Indians.

[48] This last sentence is more rhetorical than is usual with General James. Lisa's portrait which is given at the beginning of this article contradicts these statements.

had been several times suspended, was again in force. The object of his journey being thus defeated, he returned home. The next spring he again went up the river, but no account of the party or the trip has been found. James, who came down with a party commanded by Col. Menard, reaching St. Louis in August, 1810, does not mention having met him. He returned to St. Louis in the fall. The affairs of the company on the upper river had been far from prosperous. Many of the men, and among them George Drouillard, had been killed by the Blackfeet. The posts at the Bighorn and at the Forks had been abandoned, and a party of men under Major Andrew Henry had crossed to the western slope of the mountains, hoping to be able to trap there unmolested. There was no returning traveler to bring back news of this party, and by the spring of 1811 solicitude as to its fate grew to be intense. An expedition was organized on a different basis from those which went out for trading purposes to go in search of it. The expedition went out in a single boat, the best that ever ascended the river, manned by twenty stout oarsmen. The party consisted of twenty-five men, well armed, and prepared to withstand all enemies. The boat left St. Louis late in March and, after a brief halt at St. Charles, the voyage began on 2 April. On the 14th of the preceding month the Astoria party under Wilson Price Hunt had left St. Charles, bound up the river on its way to the Pacific. Hunt had engaged Pierre Dorion to go with him as interpreter, and Lisa, in whose employ Dorion had been and who was loath to lose him, had undertaken to hold him, in the same manner that he undertook to hold Vasquez at the time of the departure of Pike's expedition, by arrest by civil process for debt. Dorion, however, took to the woods, escaped the bailiffs, and joined the party later on. Notwithstanding the ill feeling caused by the Dorion incident Lisa was anxious to overtake the Hunt party in



Wilson P. Hunt

order that their united strength might insure a safe passage through the dangerous country of the Sioux. A chase ensued that has no equal in history. It lasted for two months and covered a distance of twelve hundred miles. The Sioux territory was passed in safety and the Hunt party overtaken just beyond its limits. Each party had its historian. With Lisa was Henry M. Brackenridge,[49] and John Bradbury was of Hunt's party. Each wrote an account of the voyage, and both accounts are among the classics of our Missouri literature. Later, Irving retold the tale in his *Astoria.* In the Hunt party were several enemies of Lisa's. Besides Dorion, there was Robert McClellan, who had frequently threatened to shoot Lisa on sight, and Ramsay Crooks, whose temper was equally hostile. Trouble was not long in coming. The story is told by Bradbury as follows:

"Immediately on my return to our camp a circumstance happened that for some time threatened to produce tragical consequences. It appears that during our absence Mr. Lisa had invited Dorion, our interpreter, to his boat, where he had given him some whiskey, and took that opportunity of avowing his intention of taking him away from Mr. Hunt, in consequence of a debt due by Dorion to the Missouri Fur Company, for whom Lisa was agent. Dorion had often spoken to us of this debt, and in terms of great indignation at the manner in which it had been incurred, alleging that

[49] The impression made by Lisa upon Brackenridge and that made by him upon General James, were radically diverse. The latter says, in a letter to Walter Forward, "You have my book on Louisiana and the account of my voyage or trip up the Missouri, as the *fidus Achates* of Manuel Lisa. He was a man of 'bold emprise,' like some of the Spanish heroes of the conquest. It was a good opportunity to improve my Spanish, as we spoke the language exclusively, and read Don Quixote together, at such intervals as we could snatch for the purpose." Bradbury is less kindly. He had a grievance, however, in that Lisa would not allow the boat in which Bradbury and Brackenridge came down the river to be stopped in order to allow Bradbury opportunity to search for rare plants.

he had been charged the most exorbitant prices for articles had at Fort Mandan, and in particular ten dollars per quart for whiskey. Some harsh words had therefore passed betwixt him and Lisa, and he returned to our camp. On the instant of my arrival, Mr. Lisa came to borrow a *cordeau*, or towing line, from Mr. Hunt, and being perceived by Dorion, he instantly sprung out of his tent and struck him. Lisa flew into the most violent rage, cried out, '*O mon Dieu! ou est mon couteau!*' and ran precipitately to his boat. As it was expected he would return armed, Dorion got a pair of pistols, and took his ground, the party ranging themselves in order to witness the event. Soon after Mr. Lisa appeared without pistols; but it was observed that he had a knife in his girdle. As Dorion had disclosed what had passed in Lisa's boat, Messrs. Crooks and McLellan were each very eager to take up the quarrel, but were restrained by Mr. Hunt, until an expression from Lisa, conveying an imputation upon himself, made him equally desirous of fighting. He told Lisa that the matter should be settled by themselves, and desired him to fetch his pistols. I followed Lisa to his boat, accompanied by Mr. Brackenridge, and we with difficulty prevented a meeting, which in the present temper of the parties, would certainly have been a bloody one."

After a time peace was patched up between Lisa and Hunt, they co-operated to their mutual advantage and parted apparently without enmity.

Lisa found with Hunt three of Henry's men who had left the main party and started for home, but who had been persuaded to join Hunt's expedition and turn back. Learning from these men that Henry and his party were safe, Lisa went no further up the river than Fort Mandan. From that place he went back to the Arickara villages, where he later was joined by Henry and his men and they returned together to St. Louis, where they arrived in October, 1811.

(*Conclusion to follow.*)

THE SPANISH FORTS AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSOURI RIVER.[1]

Delivery of the Fort of San Carlos Principe de Asturias and the blockhouse of Carlos Tercero, 1769. (General Archives of the Indies, Seville, Papers proceeding from the Island of Cuba.)

Delivery made of the royal Spanish fort, San Carlos el Senor Principe de Asturias and of the blockhouse San Carlos el Rey Don Carlos Tercero, both of which are located at the mouth of the Missouri—the first on the south bank, and the second on the north bank—by the commandant and governor of both posts, Don Francisco Rui y Morales, captain of the company of Louisiana, to the first lieutenant of the same company, Don Pedro Piernas, his successor, in accordance with the command and order of Don Antonio de Ulloa, governor and captain-general of this province. The latter remains in charge of their fortifications, works, and quarters, that have been constructed, the war supplies and other things which are mentioned in the following inventory, which was made with the assistance of the two storekeepers, Don Francisco Dubreseau and Don Lorenzo Chouriac, on the tenth of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine.

The fort is a square eighty feet each way, including the bulwarks. The latter have each seventeen feet in front and six feet flank, Paris measurement. They are all constructed of thick logs in part rounded and in part

[1] The Society is indebted to Hon. Louis Houck for this document. See, in connection with this, the document printed in Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 145, "*The Beginning of Spanish Missouri.*"

split through the middle. There are also two doors, one the principal door and the other that of the provisions (*socorro*). The first is seven feet high and four broad, and is made of *liar*[2] plank of two leaves, with a bar of the same wood on the inside. It has four hinges with their hooks (*machos*), a large iron latch, a lock, bolt, and key, all serviceable. The woods of which the stockade is composed are of *liar,* ash, and *ynconis*[3] (or *yuconis*). There is another double stockade in the interior constructed of small logs of equal height and seven inches in diameter.

The second door is seven feet high and three broad, with large inner bars made of *liar* boards. It consists of one leaf, and is furnished with two hinges with their hooks, a bolt, and a lock with its key.

A barracks fifty feet long, eighteen wide, and nine high from the ground to the beginning of the roof. It is made of *liar* planks six feet long, and has two slopes, two windows, with two leaves, supplied with four hinges with their hooks, a bolt, and a lock with its key.

A barracks fifty feet long, eighteen wide, and nine high from the ground to the beginning of the roof. It is made of *liar* planks six feet long, and has two slopes, two windows, with two leaves, supplied with four hinges with their hooks, and one latch inside each one. These are on the opposite side of the said barracks (as one enters, or at the side or place of the said barracks; orig.: *al lado opuesto,* or, *al lado o puesto*). But there are two other windows which are the chief ones, of the same fashion, and furnishings as the preceding. There

[2] *Liard,* i. e., Cottonwood.

[3] The word ynconis or yuconis is not to be found in the dictionaries or treatises on forestry. It is possible that hickory may be what is meant. This supposition is based upon a note in Baudry des Loziere's *Voyage a la Louisiane,* p. 171, which is as follows:

"Le noyer dont je parle n'est pas celui de France; il lui est bien superieure, C'est l'*ycory* des North-Americains.

is one door made of planks of *liar,* with four hinges, with their hooks, and one iron latch inside.

The said barracks are constructed of various woods plastered inside and outside, a loft made of *liar* planks twelve feet long, and one and one-half inches thick, and some of them two. The vicinity of the fireplace is not planked.

A clay fireplace which needs to be repaired, as it is out of order (*augereada*) in the part where the fires are built.

A stage along the three sides of the barracks, two and one-half feet high and six wide made of *liar* planks.

Another edifice of equal length and width, as the preceding constructed in the same manner, and divided into four apartments. One serves as a lodging for the governor, and is eighteen feet square. Its floor and loft are of *liar* boards, and it has two windows, one of two leaves with four hinges with their hooks and one latch. There is one door with two leaves made of *liar* wood, with four hinges, and their hooks, a lock and key, and a latch.

Another apartment next to the preceding living apartment which is used as the governor's kitchen. It is eighteen feet long by twelve broad. It is divided by a thin partition of stakes plastered on each side, but has no fireplace, as it had fallen two days previous to the delivery, because of the lack of solidity of the earth of which the said kitchen was constructed. It has one door of two leaves of *liar* planks, provided with four hinges and their hooks, a lock and key, and a latch. There is another door leading into the governor's room of one leaf which has two hinges and their hooks and a perfect latchkey, one window of one leaf, made of *liar* wood as the others which has two hinges with

Another apartment is divided into two parts, thus making two small rooms. Both have their loft, and

each one is eleven foot long by nine broad. One is used for a powder room and has a small platform three feet high where the powder is placed. The other is used for the storage of various effects of his Majesty. The two rooms have their floors made of *liar* planks, and are divided by a thin partition of stakes. They are located next to the commander's quarters. Each room contains one door of one leaf which has two hinges with their hooks, and a lock and key.

The other apartment which is used as a storehouse, is eighteen feet long by ten broad. It has a loft which is used as a storehouse for his Majesty's effects. It has a door with two leaves made of *liar* wood, which has four hinges with their hooks, one latch, one lock, and its key; one window of one leaf, with its two hinges and their hooks; one latch; and one beam which supports the loft.

In two bastions there are two large planks which are nailed to the stockade itself, and are used as a sentry box together with the ceiling which is made of boards of the same wood.

One flagstaff erected on one bulwark, with its halliard half worn out and its pulley.

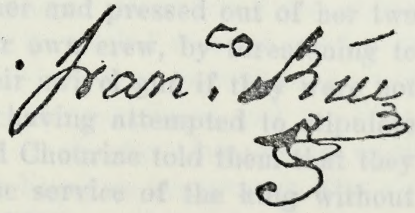
Five cannons: two with a caliber of six, and the other three of four. All are mounted on gun-carriages, and are set in a battery, with their sights and balls.

Twenty-seven banquettes in the form of landing-places, set up on posts, with a like number of loopholes in the stockade for the muskets.

Opposite the door of succor is the oven which is constructed of dirt, and not in the best state of service. Its bottom is broken through the continual use that has been made of it. Its diameter is five feet eight inches, and it is set upon posts. The roof is made of poor unplaned boards of *liar* wood, and is eighteen feet along its two slopes.

On the north shore at the mouth of the Missouri River is a house, called a blockhouse. It has the following form: It is eighteen feet square and seven high, and is constructed of round logs of all sorts of wood. Its roof is of unplaned *liar* boards six feet in length, each board being one inch thick. It has one door and one window which have no ironwork, but small latches of wood.

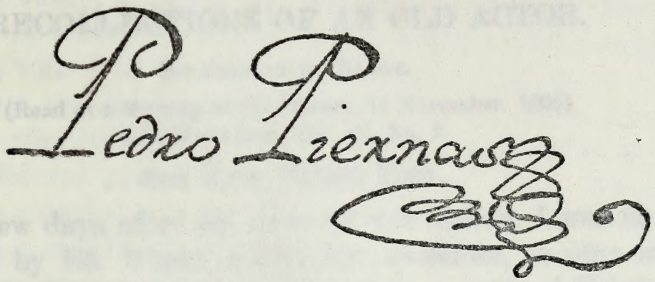
All the contents of this inventory have been examined and delivered exactly by the above mentioned. Don Francisco Rui y Morales, captain and commandant of the company of Louisiana, military and civil governor of the above-expressed posts, which are located at the mouth of the Missouri River, has delivered them to his successor, Don Pedro Piernas, first lieutenant of the above-mentioned company and the new military and civil governor of the said posts. The above has taken place on the day of the above date in the presence of the two storekeepers—outgoing and entering—below signed, in accordance with the orders of this prov. The royal fort of San Carlos el Senor Principe de Asturias, March ten, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine.



Loubril (*sic*) Debrussau,
Lorenzo Chouriac,
(three rubrics).

I have taken charge of all the above-contained in the preceding inventory. In order that it may so appear and serve as a protection to Don Francisco Rui,

my predecessor, I affix my signature in this royal fort of San Carlos el Senor Principe de Asturias, March 10, 1769.[4]



Complaints Against Piernas and Chouriac. "The merchants, Rivard and Bérard, who were going to the Illinois, have been forced to land at the Arkansas, not to hear any longer the insulting language, in which a certain Catalan, named Chouriac, who was sent by the Spaniards to the Illinois, as storekeeper and commissary, expressed himself towards the French nation; that Piernas, the commander of the Spanish troops, when going with said Chouriac to the Illinois district to assume its government had met at the *Ecores à Margot,* a boat which was coming down; that the said Piernas and Chouriac stopped her and pressed out of her two rowers, to increase their own crew, by threatening to fire at the boat with their swivel gun if they were not obeyed, * * * that having attempted to stipulate for their wages, the said Chouriac told them that they must go to work for the service of the king without further discussion."[5] (1768.)

[4] The fac-simile signatures of Rui and Piernas were taken from other documents.

[5] 2 Gayarré *History of Louisiana,* 239.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR.

By Charles A. Krone.

(Read at a Meeting of the Society, 17 November, 1905)
Continued from Vol. III, No. 2.

Act Two, Scene Two.

A few days after the close of this season, I was engaged by Ed. Wight, a Chicago comedian, to play in Quincy, Ill. About the middle of the month of February, 1858, I arrived at that town and found a small company playing in a large hall on the first floor of a brick building on Hampshire street, near the public square, and which is now a feed store. The stage was well supplied with scenery and of respectable size. The Germans had used it for their occasional entertainments, and a beer saloon was connected with it. During the five weeks of my engagement I played among many others such parts as William Tell, Charles XII. and characters of like importance, besides two performances of Francis deMoor in German, for which I was paid fifteen dollars each night, the only money I received during this campaign. However, I was getting under way and I began to think I was too good to remain a utility man even in a first class theatre. Gold had been discovered in the mountains and the Pike's Peak excitement began to stir the adventurous spirits of the country. Trade began to improve in whatever was related to the furnishing of articles to the emigrants on their long and perilous voyage to the land of gold. Our business was fair, but our cheap prices of admission of 35, 25 and 15 cents with twelve actors to pay, and an orchestra of six pieces, printing, rent and board at a respectable hotel, there was no more left for me than just enough to pay my passage back

to St. Louis. A scheme, however, had been formed to join this company with that of the Allen combination, who at the time were taking a vacation in Louisiana, Pike County, awaiting the springtide and better business. However, the weather being severely cold, I came home, where after a few days I was called on by C. Stewart, the former old man of the late St. Louis company, who informed me that the two companies had consolidated under the management of John Allen, whose object was to play at Louisiana three weeks and then proceed to St. Joseph where thousands of Pike's peakers were now assembled buying their outfits of horses and provisions for a journey across the plains; that there was bushels of money in it and that I alone was necessary to complete the present dramatic outfit. He promised the best of parts with a salary of $12.00 per week, good board and a half clear benefit at the close of the season, which he fondly imagined would last a year. I consented, and though somewhat dissatisfied with the salary, which really was as much as they could afford to pay, the glorious visions of Macbeth, Othello and others floated before me and determined me at once, and I immediately packed up my traps.

The next morning my friend Stewart and myself were en route for Louisiana, Pike County, on board the steamer Hannibal City. There was likewise a small troupe of German actors on board that had been organized in St. Louis under the direction of a Mr. Haack, a German Jew and a gambler by profession. This man I found later to be one of the brightest schemers and promoters I have met in the business. Before we reached Louisiana he had fleeced two country gamblers of every cent they possessed at poker. He took a great liking to Stewart and myself, and when in sight of our destination he insisted on each of us taking a five-dollar gold piece from him to hang, as he said, on our watch-

chains, and that as his destination likewise was St. Joseph he hoped to meet us shortly. When we arrived in the town of Louisiana we went at once to the Kingston hotel, situated on the river side, where we met our Quincy friend and a few of the new members, the rest not being expected until the next week. However, we had sufficient force on hand to proceed with the business, so, the next night we opened in the Hunchback, with myself as Master Walter, a terribly long part, which I studied in the space of thirty hours. The theatre was a roomy hall in the second story of a new building. On a stage eighteen feet wide and fifteen feet deep was placed the well-painted scenery of the former Allen company, which consisted of a sufficient stock of pretty scenes and a curtain. They were of the kind termed flipper scenes Also footlights were not wanting in tin reflectors and tallow or wax candles. An orchestra composed of two pieces, namely, a man with a fiddle, and a boy who later became proprietor of the principal music store in town, "discoursed most excellent music" on a guitar. Pity they only played three pieces, Kate Kearney, Zip Coon and Hail Columbia, which latter they played for a wedding march in the Hunchback on our first night and never after. Mrs. Clark, a retired actress, who had been a well-known member of Sol. Smith's stock company, had been sent for to play Julia, as our leading lady had not yet arrived. On the first night the house was well filled and the performance was considered a success. In a few days we were in touch with the town, and as we had quite a good company, a good hotel, and our landlord, Mr. Kingston, a kind and entertaining gentleman, everything promised to go on agreeably and profitably. Mr. Kingston as a Tennesseean and a strong pro-slavery man, and when the conversation turned on politics it was better than a farce to see him

lose his temper and curse the abolitionists and free-soilers until his breath failed him, and yet, I was informed later, at the commencement of the Civil War, he was as staunch a Union man as could be found, and my informant added that he died as such, "with his boots on." During this first week I also appeared as Othello. While making up my face for the part, the manager entered the dressing room and cried: "Good Lord, are you going to play that part as a nigger?" I replied: "I don't know nor care whether he's a nigger or not, but I know that Shakespeare makes him black, as can be proved by a dozen or more allusions to that fact in the original text, and so will I." He laughingly answered: "You don't know where you are! You are not in Illinois or Iowa, but in a hotbed of pro-slavery sentiment. Take care they don't lynch you." I replied: "If there is any moral meaning in the play, Othello must be black. I am not afraid. The Latin races never made any row about marrying a Moor," and I was left free to do as I pleased. I was young and perhaps foolish for challenging a prejudice which might have harmed me, though my convictions were just. I played him black, and I wonder now that excepting a slight laugh and titter on my first appearance, there was no demonstration whatever of offense, but, on the contrary, I received considerable applause and the assurance that the part had been well done from the management.

On the fourth day of our advent in the town we were informed by various citizens that we had been the subject of a virulent attack by a zealous preacher the previous night, at the same time showing us an article in a journal, the name of which I have forgotten, in which all actors were branded as drunkards, jailbirds and outlaws. This was the more astonishing as we were on friendly terms with the best of the young people of the town and confirmed favorites of the guests of the

hotel and the landlord and his family. About the hour the doors of the theatre were opened, the church bells were set to ring, announcing that another volley of abuse would be hurled against these outlaws. Fearing that our business would fall off and knowing that there was no mercy to be expected from the clergyman or his party, we decided to appeal to the liberal element of the community, which we were sure would give us their aid against this injustice. To make the affair as emphatic and public, as well as profitable, the management proposed to play the "Serious Family," a piece taken from Moliere's Hypocrite, a work which, though it does not in the least touch upon religion, is a scathing satire upon that pharisaical pride and arrogance which is the outgrowth of that self-conscious and self-satisfied goodness that brands innocent amusement a crime. Rehearsals were instituted at once, we were liberally assisted by some of the townsmen who came and witnessed the rehearsals and advertised the affair among their friends, besides furnishing us with spicy anecdotes and characteristics of some of the opposition party and pledging themselves to stick by us. We made good use of these stories, that is, suggestively, and in such a manner that they seemed to be part and parcel of the original text, nor was this difficult, for they fitted the characters of the play to a dot. To add to the comicalities, the part of the arch-female hypocrite was assigned to our old man, who stood six feet and an inch in his stockings, and who sported an uncommonly long nose in a very narrow face, decorated by heavy side whiskers, which were, however, concealed beneath the lace frills of a very fine white cap. The male hypocrite, Aminidab Sleek, fell to the part of our comedian, a little, chubby fellow of about five feet in height. The first night the house was filling up to its utmost capacity while our orchestra sawed away at Kate Kearney and the church bells without were mer-

rily ringing. The play began, and when Aminidab Sleek and Lady Sowerbycreamly made their entrance, dressed in prim grey Quaker suits, one gust of applause succeeded another with shouts and roars of laughter. There was but one continued smile or laughter during the entire performanec and at the end the company was called before the curtain, with Aminidab Sleek and Lady Sowerbycreamly in the middle. Aminidab stepped forward, and as near as I can remember, addressed the public in the following style: "Brethren and sisters, Humph! (a long-drawn sigh) in behalf of the Society for the Promulgation of Serious Thought and Contemplation, I thank you for your attendance this evening. Moreover, it hath given us great joy to behold among the number present those doughty champions of our cause, Brother Jones and Brother Smith, who have wielded the sword of Gideon and discomfited the hosts of the profane that would have cast us from out the promised land to perish in the mountains of Hepsadom, where the lion roareth for his prey and the whangdoodle mourneth for its first-born. Yea, verily, they would have slain us hip and thigh (here all groaned and turned up their eyes). Tomorrow night, my brethren and sisters, another meeting will be held in this hall and I trust ye will all be present again, likewise that our colored friends will also take their accustomed places on the stairs, in the hall, and block up the doors. Brothers Wright, Stewart, Krone, Allen and Richmond will be present to administer advice and consolation. Sisters Allen, Clark and Sullivan, of the entertainment committee, after the exercises will serve refreshments—watermelons and Switzer cheese to the weary and dejected. I trust that the brothers and sisters will bring with them the serious friends of their acquaintance to further our cause. On this occasion all the seats will be free, only a little donation of fifty cents apiece will be taken at the door to defray the ex-

penses. With this we bid you good-night, hoping you will enjoy the slumber of the purified. Yea, verily!"

To see this play people came from the interior of the county and for six nights every nook of the house was filled with merry, laughing faces, while the negro servants crowded the hall and grinned at the doors. After the performance the slaves lit their large lanterns to light their masters home, and as they wound along the dark roads, one could still hear them laugh and discuss the action of the play. This was quite a triumph for the Allen company and a financial success. On the Monday night of the last week of our engagement my name was announced for a benefit, and, as I had been rather successful in my work, a good attendance was looked for. For this occasion the drama of the Corsican Brothers, in which I was cast for the part of Chateau Renaud, the duellist, and the farce of the Irish Tutor were selected. On the day previous, Sunday, I crossed the river in a skiff with a party of young fellows to fish in the lakes of the Illinois bottoms. The weather was clear but cold, and I foolishly stood in the water the greater part of the day to win the prize of a dozen cigars to be awarded the best fisherman of the party. After recrossing the river I felt very ill and went to bed early to arise a very sick man in the morning. I went to rehearsal, however, and after painfully struggling through my task, I felt as though my head would burst and my backbone had been broken. Arrived at the hotel I threw myself on the bed without taking off either overcoat or boots, became unconscious and lay there until half past seven, when my absence from the theatre created surprise. I was aroused from my stupor by Manager Allen and the landlord who had entered and were standing at my bedside. When Allen asked me if I recognized him I had just about enough breath to say that I did, and seeing my painful gasping for air he hurriedly left the room and I again fell into

the former stupor. The next I remembered was to see two strangers, doctors, and Allen and the landlord stand before me. They examined me and it did not escape my observation that one of the physicians whispered to the landlord with an ominous shake of the head. The physicians pronounced it a severe case of pleurisy-pneumonia, and that there was no time to lose. A boy was sent for medicine, and upon his return a dose was given me and the party left the room. While I was gasping for air and wondering what they would do at the theatre in this emergency, the landlady and two ladies who were stopping at the hotel, entered and after kindly asking me about my condition, the landlady replied: "I think we can do better for him than the doctors." Upon this, she took the medicine that had been placed upon the window sill, smelled it, then opened the window and threw it out into the street, saying: "You are worth a dozen dead men." This remark led me to believe that the doctors had given me some opiate to enable me to die easy. She then said: "Now, young man, I want you to do as I tell you, and to look upon me as if I were your mother or your sister. These ladies and myself will see that you will be all right, but you must obey our orders." Upon this a negro man was called to make a fire while one of the ladies placed a bell rope within my reach to summon help if I required it. They then retired, but soon returned with a number of jugs filled with hot water, woolen blankets, and heated bricks, the landlady holding a glass tumbler half filled with castor oil in one hand and a couple of lemons in the other. The heated jugs and bricks were placed upon me and around me and the blankets spread over them, the lemon juice was squeezed into the castor oil, almost filling the tumbler, my head raised and the contents poured down my throat. After enjoining me to lie quiet until they returned in the morning and to ring for the black servant

in case I required anything, they bid me goodnight and left the room. Before long, the intense heat threw me into a profuse perspiration. About two o'clock in the morning I was startled by a commotion and loud rattle in my chest while something was rising to my throat which threatened to suffocate me. I held my hand to my mouth and a clot of what seemed a coagulated ball of blood fell into it. "There goes my lung," I thought, as I laid the mass on the windowsill. But now breath came freer and my mind more clear, and as I lay musing on the events of the previous evening I made a promise to myself, that if ever a woman should require my help, I would give it to the fullest extent of my ability, no matter who or what she might be. I have had several opportunities during my life to make that promise good, but not sufficient to compensate for what I owed. In the morning the nurses were promptly on hand and their pleasure at seeing the almost fatal obstruction that had passed from me and the encouraging remark: "Now, then, you're all right," gave me hope that my career as an actor would not be interrupted and that the lungs were still on hand. The negro immediately was called to change the bed clothes, while the landlady knelt before my trunk and rummaged around to find a change of underwear. While she was busy thus I thought of my mother, whose office she was performing, and as the rays of the early morning sun fell through the window upon the gentle face and light brown hair of that kneeling woman, she appeared like a transfigured vision to my young mind, and I felt that a genuine woman is something higher and nobler than the mere dictionary definition implies. After this she left the room to the servant, who, after putting to rights the room and myself, went to bring my breakfast.

With attention and care I improved rapidly. The coming Saturday we were to leave for St. Joseph. I was not allowed to leave my room until the morning

of our departure. After thanking my benefactors and bidding them farewell, I was led to the boat which was to take us to Hannibal City where the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad that had lately been built awaited us. As the boat backed out into the stream, I stood in the forecastle to get a last look at our friends on the wharf. The ladies stood waving their farewells. Our landlord, in his blue jeans suit, parti-colored calfskin vest and broad-brimmed planter's hat, like an American patriarch, stood at the river's edge, his kind and honest face diffused with smiles at the ovation which the funmakers, as he termed us, were receiving, whilst I, besides the sincere sadness I felt at the parting, was weighed down by an emotion of humility, melancholy and embarrassment which I could not account for then. I know it now to have been the fact that a youngster of twenty-two had discovered for the first time that he was of some importance to the world outside of his relatives and friends.

We arrived at Hannibal that evening and boarded the train early in the morning, where we met the remainder of the new company who had arrived previously. This party consisted of Sam Ryan and Kate Denin Ryan, his wife, and three children; Chas. Walters and his wife, Clara Walters, and H. Powell and wife. The train was crowded with passengers going west to profit by the Pike's Peak affair. However, two seats were placed at the disposed of Ryan's three children and myself and diverted by these and the pranks of the company, besides an occasional running off the track by the locomotive, on which occasion the men of our company would help to replace it and sing and joke, the journey, though long, was rather pleasant. In the vicinity of Stewartsville some indistinct object was swinging from a tree, and a farmer informed us that it was the body of a horse-thief who had been hanged several days previous, which information filled our eastern

actors with horror. The Hannibal road so lately opened, was still in a very imperfect condition and as we had lost considerable time from the various accidents, we did not reach St. Joseph until ten o'clock that night. On our arrival I was quartered at the Missouri Hotel where I received a cot in the office among six others that were occupied by strangers of various grades and characters. I immediately went to bed, but had scarcely made myself comfortable when some members of our company and several citizens drew me out and led me to Smith's Hall, where we were to play. A German performance had been given that Sunday night, with a dance that was still going on, and they said that I was waited for by some old school-mates and friends from St. Louis. On my arrival, after passing through a dense crowd of dancers to a room back of the stage where a lot of people were seated smoking and drinking champagne, some one cried: "Here he is!" and I was hailed by a cheer from the company, among whom, indeed, were several friends I had not seen since my school days. Mr. Haack, the German manager, welcomed me, and thrust another five-dollar gold piece into my vest pocket, saying: "You take it, son, for I've got more than I can use. My performance this evening has cleared me $85.00, I have won nearly $200.00 at poker and I expect to double that tomorrow. This town is a regular Eldorado and you folks will make a mint of money." From the manner in which the champagne flowed, the appearance of the people and the indifference in which money was squandered, I was induced to believe him. As I was convalescent, I was permitted to leave the party at one o'clock. Next morning I was aroused at the early hour of six and notified that a gentleman was waiting for me with a team. I arose and met a stranger with a long buggy whip in his hand, who introduced himself as Mr. Collins, and said that as the morning was bright

and clear and having heard I had been very ill, he had come to give me a good healthy drive over the hills that surrounded the town. I thankfully accepted the invitation, and though at the time I had rather slumbered, this drive was a benefit to me. We got into a fine two-horse rig and spanked towards the high hills that were dotted with tents like a large military encampment. Here was a picture of life and action among a mass of human beings from every part of the land, some cooking, washing or sewing, others feeding cattle or mending wagons and harness, whilst from the surrounding ravines and gulches re-echoed the sharp crack of rifles and the newly invented breech-loader, with which the emigrants were practicing to enable them to meet the attacks of the savage Indians of the plains. Large schooner wagons with teams of stout horses were corralled in one place and rickety old farm wagons and lowing oxen in another. Even small two-wheeled vehicles containing a diminutive sheet-iron stove and cooking utensils were not wanting and these were to be shoved by hand, like a wheelbarrow, across the plains. But a few had taken their families. All appeared to be inspired with courage and hope. Many of the wagons had mottoes painted upon them in large black letters, such as: "Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady," "I Dare," "For Pike's Peak Ho," etc. On entering the town the crowded streets of its business quarter presented a scene of bustling activity that gave it the appearance of a great fair. The hardware stores were busy selling stoves, pans and knives, and the groceries and meat shops were reaping a golden harvest; while from the saloons, billiard rooms and bowling alleys resounded the rattle and roll of balls far into the night. Around the old market house and the square a motley crew of peddlers and Peter Funk auctioneers were selling bogus jewelry and watches, and clowns offering pot-metal knives and pepper-box revolvers for sale. One

fellow dressed a la Hamlet, was doling out small bottles filled with crude petroleum at twenty-five cents apiece as a sovereign cure for rheumatism and every other "ill that flesh is heir to." Indians and half breeds, some dressed in their native garb, offered bronchos from the distant prairies. Amidst all this confusion, an old man of some sixty years of age, dressed in a full suit of buckskin, with a cap made of a coonskin, the head of the animal in front and the tail hanging down the back of his neck upon his long, snow-white hair, his face covered with a beard that almost reached to his girdle, and a long rifle upon his shoulder, walked gravely through the crowd like a mysterious vision of the past that had come to re-visit the scenes of his former exploits. He was the classical embodiment of the typical ancient backwoodsman, and he has been my model on several occasions when I performed characters of that description. I was again vividly reminded of these scenes on my first visit to the Pike during the World's Fair, although time, conditions, and objects were entirely different.

Our ride concluded, I went to Smith's Hall to a rehearsal. The hall was small though comfortable for the actors, it having two commodious dressing rooms. It was owned or leased by two Swiss brewers, Uhlinger and Billeter, who did all in their power to make things agreeable. The theatre was in the second story, the lower being occupied by a drygoods store, a grocery, and a saloon at the corner. Our first performance was a signal success, the window sills again serving for extra seats. An orchestra under the leadership of Professor Behr, an efficient German-trained musician, furnished excellent music, and as our company was far above the average of those even in large cities, a company it would have been impossible to obtain but for the hard times that prevailed, and as our performances gave satisfaction, everything looked bright and hope-

ful. The bill was changed every night unless in the case of some special production, and the same repertoir was produced that was usual in all English theatres, including the dramas of Knowles, Sheridan and Shakespeare. None but the best were produced, for, not alone the ambition of the actor but the best intelligence of the public made this a requisite, and thus many high-class plays were produced during our four months' stay, pioneering also some new productions, such as Bateman's comedy of "Self," "Corsican Brothers" and the "American Cousin."

As the hotel charges for the company were very high, after much difficulty we were transferred to different boarding houses. John Goodwin and myself and two others were lodged with a Mr. F—, who lived in an old country-built frame house of six rooms, situated on the edge of a high, perpendicular mud bank on Black Snake Creek. The house was filled to its full capacity with men, women and many children. Goodwin and myself slept in the room of an annex to the main building, a one-story barrack-like structure, where at night we could hear the Black Snake roar and the mud foundation of our domicile splashing in the flood beneath when the creek was high. The room contained three double beds: one of these was occupied by my partner and myself, the others by wandering parties of men, women and children, that came as mysteriously as they departed, for though we often heard, we seldom saw any of our room-mates. Our habit was to come home after the performance, receive about an inch of tallow candle from the landlord to light the way to our couch, blow it out, undress in the dark and creep into bed. When we arose at eight in the morning, our fellow lodgers had already cleared the ranch. Instead of springs, our bedstead had ropes stretched across, upon which was placed a huge bag of corn shucks covered by a sheet of brown domestic. A bolster and pillows like-

wise filled with shucks, and the whole covered with two wornout "cotton kivers." One morning I awoke with considerable pain, caused by the remnant of a corn cob in the pillow, which had made quite a hole in my cheek. Our food consisted chiefly in cooked beef, beans, pickles and biscuits, the size of a baby's head, baked some three days old, to prevent indigestion. The worst feature of the place was that we were prevented from studying our parts at night, for I had much to do, but as there was no room elsewhere we were forced to submit. However, one night returning home earlier than my partner, just as I was about to blow out the dim light, I perceived a curious mixture of brown and silvery white upon my shuck pillow. It was a man's face. I pulled down the cover and there lay the white-haired, ancient buckskin model I had seen and admired two weeks ago on the market place, with his rifle resting on his arm and his dirty moccasins soiling the sheets, snoring with all his might. I was angry, and upon shaking him gruffly he growled: "What in hell's the matter with you?" "You are in my bed and I want you to get out of it, that's what's the matter," I replied. "Why there's room for two, so get in, and if you don't make any fuss I'll divy with you." By this time the other inmates of the room were awake and some of the children began to cry, and one of the women soothed her youngster by saying: "Don't be afeared, bud, the gentlement ain't goin' to fuss." Finally I got the old man out of bed but he would not leave the house, when a head of black hair and full whiskers popped from under a blanket and finally yelled out: "Why don't you let the young fellow have his bed and give us a rest." "That's none of your d—d business," Buckskin coolly replied and proceeded: "I'm sure he won't turn out an old man like me into the rain." This at once reminded me of my duty, and I offered him a quarter to get a lodging. He grasped it eagerly and went

towards the door where he paused and offered to sell me his long rifle for two dollars and a half, and upon my refusal to buy it he turned to me and in a low voice said: "Goodnight, stranger, you can go to bed." Then turning to black whiskers: "And you can go to hell," after which he vanished like Hamlet's ghost. Black whiskers muttered: "Good riddance. The darned old fool. Nobody knows who he is nor whar he came from." After a great deal of grumbling and a few petitions to the manager in regard to our lodgings, we were removed to a boarding house kept by a Mr. T——, which was situated on Main street and near the theatre. This was a decided improvement, as the house was of brick and comparatively new. Our room with two windows gave sufficient air and light and instead of one inch of tallow dip we were allowed a whole candle whenever required, with the liberty of light all night if necessary; however, again the scarcity of room necessitated the crowding of ten men into a partition apartment of the size of fifteen by twelve. For bedsteads we had cots made out of raw cottonwood boards that warped and took another change with every turn of temperature. Today the legs on one side would be up from the floor and hanging in the air, and tomorrow it would be the other side and all efforts to make them plumb by propping were futile. The bedding was similar to that of Mr. F——'s chateau, namely, stuffed with shucks, though the corn cobs were taken out and that they presented a higher state of modern tidiness than the former. Our companions were of the following professions: Two Peter Funk auctioneers, one negro minstrel, a lame barroom fiddler, a Spanish juggler and a Yankee trader who sold pocket-books and jack-knives on the market square. I had received another partner this time in the person of our comedian, Edwin Wight, for whom I conceived a friendship which lasted until his death some years ago. This house, like others of

that period, was so crowded that at times even the long dining room was filled with sleepers lying upon the tables or on the bare floors on either side of it, in rows, like sardines. The food was plain and wholesome, and whatever other luxuries, such as mustard and ketchup which were not furnished, we bought ourselves by general contribution. The landlady, an elderly widow, was one of the kindest and most obliging in the business, always ready to serve and to shut her eyes or laugh at the various practical jokes and boisterous fooleries that we practiced on the premises. On the whole we considered ourselves well lodged and the business continued excellent until about the month of May, when we received opposition in the person of Robert Miles, at present the proprietor of the Cincinnati opera house, who then was starring as "Mazeppa," and brought a company and a horse with him to play the drama. This, no doubt, was the first time that a play with a horse as one of the actors had visited St. Joseph. Of course, the novelty of the affair and the fact that the performance took place in a finer hall than ours, with a larger stage and a commodious auditorium, drew that part of the circus-loving public, who have always been in the majority, and our business began to fall off, besides Miles had come to stay as manager and leading man of the St. Joseph Theatre.

At this juncture John Langrish and his clever wife, and James Wallis arrived to join our company. John Langrish, an excellent character actor, and the manager of the most solid and efficient traveling company of the northwestern states, where he had traveled for years, forced by the stress of the hard times, had disbanded his company and come with his wife and James Wallis, his excellent leading man, to try their fortune on the road to the land of gold. We now had a company numbering more leading people than any I have been with since, namely, Wallis, Walters, Allen, and

another, in myself. The three first named, however, had played the business in acknowledged and standard theatres. The leading parts were cast according to the supposed capacity in each. Wallis, among other parts, would play Virginius; Allen, Hamlet; Walters, Lodovico, in Evadne, and Krone, Othello and Macbeth. The same parties would also play inferior parts whenever required. Of comedians we had three, Sam Ryan, Ed. Wight and John Goodwin. Of old men, Langrish and Stewart, and for general parts, H. Richmond, James Rollins, Archie Allen and Charles Hawkins. The leading ladies were represented by Mrs. Kate Denin Ryan and Mrs. Clara Wallis, added to which were Mrs. Dowell, Mrs. Allen and Miss Sullivan. The next move of our manager, John Allen, or "Long John," as he was called, was to procure a better and more spacious home for the company. For this purpose, Charles Stewart, our old man performer, who was an architect by profession, drew a plan for a theatre with a dress circle and parquet, to be built in the second story of a new building which, I think, stood on the corner of Main and Felix streets. Charles Hawkins, of our company, a clever sign and ornamental painter, with some talent for landscape and figures, was engaged to paint a curtain and the scenery. The plan was at once put into execution and after laboring night and day for several weeks the place was opened as the Allen Theatre, with a gala performance of "London Assurance." Instead of the customary prologues at openings, the entire company, in evening dress, was ranged upon the stage, where accompanied by an organ and an orchestra of fifteen pieces, they sang the national anthem of the Star Spangled Banner, at the conclusion of which the new curtain representing the "soldier's dream" descended amidst the applause and admiration of an elegant and appreciative audience. The house was packed and the heat was so intense that several ladies fainted.

The building of a theatre had been started previous to this, and proceeded no further than its mere foundation, and so I think I am justified in saying that the Allen Theatre was the first faint realization of what is termed a regulation theatre.

The horse drama at the St. Joseph having had its day, Miles was compelled to have recourse to the legitimate English drama and from this time the business wavered between good and bad, according to the attractions at either place. Two theatres were too many. Besides the Pike's Peak travel had virtually ceased, but few going out, whilst many after a few hundred miles of travel returned broken in fortune and spirits. During the second week of the new theatre I appeared as Othello to a large audience and the play was so well received by the public and the press that we were solicited to repeat it for the benefit of the St. Joseph orchestra, when it again drew a large audience. Shortly after I also appeared as Macbeth, which was produced with the incidental and original music of Locke, and as we had no score of the same, and I was acquainted with every note, the entire work was taken from my voice by Professor Behr and arranged in so skillful a manner that it was very like the original. This also met with success. The excellent acting of Wallis in Virginius likewise suffered a repetition. The comedy of "Self" was produced with new scenes and the elegant costumes of the ladies and their excellent rendition of the women of fashion in this novel representation of American life, drew several good houses. Up to this period things were still going on smoothly, salaries were paid, the best citizens were interested in the institution and gave it their patronage, the actors were well liked and invited to outings and drives and picnics and whatever was going on among the younger population, but the increasing number of unfortunate Pike's Peak pilgrims were a burden upon the community and

the approaching time for making engagements in the large cities for the next season, threatened the dissolution of the enterprise. During the month of June benefits began to be tendered to the leading members, a sure sign that the season was about to close. Mine took place on Saturday, night on which occasion I appeared as Mephistopheles, in Michalet's drama of "Faust," a part for which I had conceived a great liking, through reading Goethe's tragedy of the same title. My benefit was well attended and on the following day one of the journals said: "That if Mr. Krone does the old gent as well through life as he did in the play, he deserves a place with Mahomet and the houris in the seventh story." However that might be, I am inclined to think that it was the first performance of that part in the town.

Our room at the boarding house was visited by a newspaper man for the purpose of writing it up for some journal. He took particular interest in our entymological museum, an institution that had been started by my partner, Ed. Wight, who collected the flies and bugs that entered through the windows and glued them on the wall with a label giving the name, history and a burlesque scientific description of the habits of each. Other rarities of personal interest, such as old shoes, hats and cravats and a picture gallery of woodcuts clipped from newspapers and periodicals was not wanting, besides a free and easy glee club, whose aim it was to foster the education of popular American songs, such as "Jim Crow," "Jinny Get Your Hoe Cake Done," and to which all were admitted who had a voice or not. Over the door of the room a sign was nailed with Vanity Fair painted on it, and a two-foot square blackboard hung on the door with a crayon on a string for those who wished to leave orders. All this and more was noted down to be published in some journal, and if it was, I never heard of it.

The season was drawing to a close and so were the pranks and diversions of the company. Salaries were behind some weeks, a few members of our company had gone over to the opposition house and the weather was extremely hot. Disappointed gold seekers, who had never seen the Peak were continually returning with their jaded teams and worn-out vehicles that now bore such mournful inscriptions upon them as "Prodigal Son," "Pike's Hell," "A Fool Is Born," etc., etc., instead of the inspiriting mottoes at their departure. Others came in on foot, hungry and ragged, after having left their go-carts to rot on the plains, with nothing in their pockets but souvenirs of snake rattles. On one occasion I saw three men that were picked up on the river side by a sympathizing citizen. These men had come down the Platte into the Missouri River on a rudely-constructed raft. The remnant of clothing that was left upon them was torn and worn until they were half naked and their faces so tanned and swarthy that if it had not been for their full beards, it would have been difficult to recognize them for white men. No sooner did they find themselves in the hands of friends than they fell starved and exhausted when they were conveyed to a place for their recovery. Many of the disappointed gold seekers maintained that the Pike's Peak affair had been gotten up by the people of St. Joseph as a fake to make money, and numerous threats were made to set the town on fire. Upon this the militia was called out to patrol the streets at night and everything became as quiet and dismal as a churchyard. Allen closed the theatre and the company disbanded. I had saved a few dollars, added to which I had the share of my late benefit, a half clear after expenses, which consisted of four ten-dollar gold pieces, which I secreted in the waistband of my pants, to be used to carry me through the summer until my next engagement. I loitered about the town for a few days

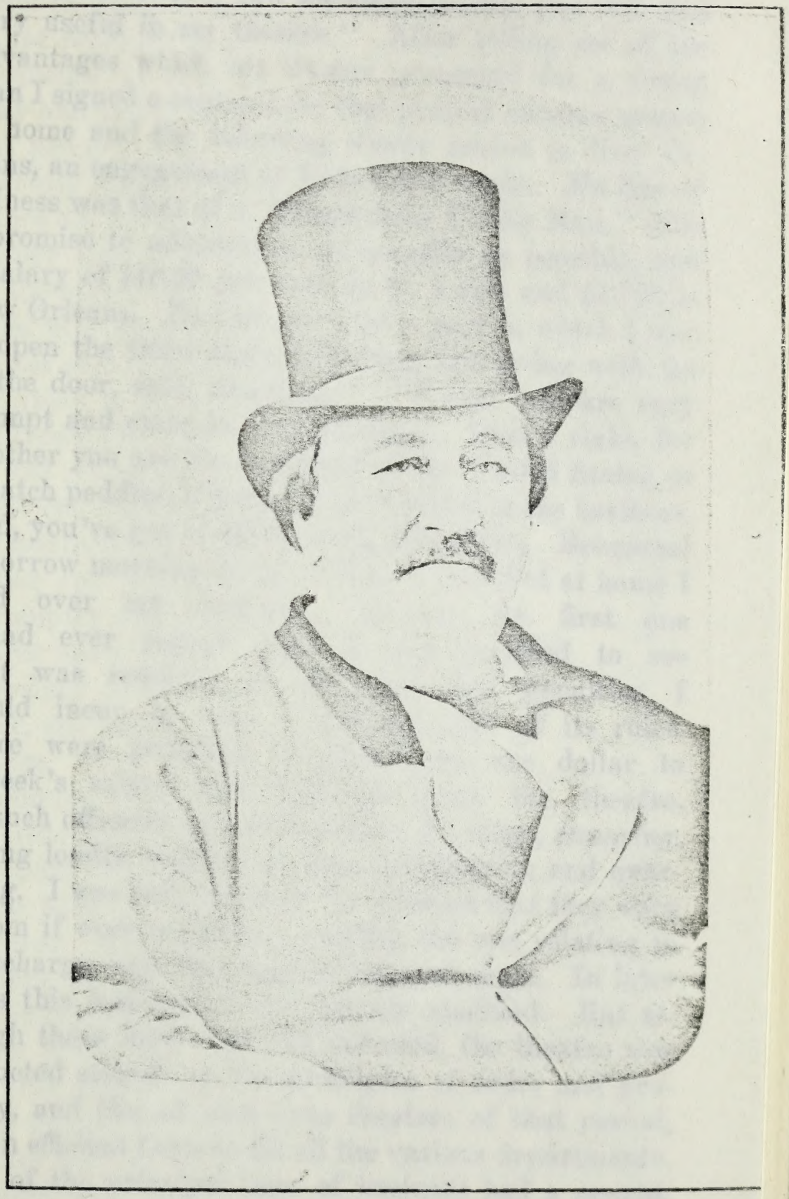
visiting friends, when I learned that the railroad company sold tickets to St. Louis at the cheap rate of $2.50, no doubt for the purpose of ridding the town of its unwelcome emigrants. John Goodwin, the prompter, and myself resolved to take advantage of this cheap rate and so the next day at noon we found ourselves seated on the rough board benches in a cattle car with a motley crew of passengers. The majority were young people, who though disappointed, still had the world before them and were full of fun and spirit to get back home, but there were not wanting some older men who looked gloomy and despondent. The day was spent pleasantly enough in telling adventurous tales, singing or playing cards, but the night was one of terror, as there was neither room to sleep nor food to be had for those that had not provided themselves with a lunch, a provision that my partner and myself had neglected in our eagerness to get home. I think that we only stopped for water or fuel, and during the interim we could hear loud roars of laughter and boisterous songs from the car ahead of us where the whiskey bottle was passed freely. Early in the morning we arrived at Hannibal, where we were compelled to wait until late in the afternoon for the boat to take us to St. Louis. We were tired out with hunger and watching. Nevertheless Goodwin volunteered to go up town and get something to eat whilst I remained to watch the trunks which had been dropped in a solitary place by a wood-yard. When I was alone I found a green spot between two wood piles and laid enough cord sticks across to make a roof to shade myself from the sun, and after drawing the trunks to the edge of my couch, I lay with my legs across the baggage and slept immediately. I was awakened by my legs dropping on the ground and as I looked ahead I saw a fellow walking off with my trunk on his shoulders, and when I bid him drop it he replied that a gentleman had hired him to carry it

to the hotel and he proceeded with it. I again bid him halt, at the same time drawing an unloaded eight-inch rifle-barreled pistol that I used at the theatre and threatened to use it on him, when he dropped the trunk, saying that there was no use of my being vexed, as he had made a mistake. Goodwin arrived with the food, consisting of jerked beef and a considerable amount of stale three-storied gingerbread, that is, of the kind that is composed of layers of yellow, white and red, and some dried beef. I demurred, but he said that it was the best that he could do, that he was too weak to hunt all over town and that it would serve us until we reached home. He was right, for it proved a Lucullus banquet to our ravenous appetite, and after we had satisfied our hunger we quenched our thirst with copious draughts from the Father of Waters, smoked our pipes and then retired to our couch between the two wood piles and slept.

Late in the afternoon we were awakened by the shrill whistle of the steamer as she headed towards the wharf. We went on board and after she had taken in some freight we proceeded on our way home. Of course, our tickets called for a deck passage. The fellow who had taken our trunks on board perceiving that they were labeled "Allen's Dramatic Company," came up where we were sitting and began mocking us and making insulting remarks, laughing at us and spouting tragic sentences from Richard, etc. This was very annoying, and when we remonstrated with him he grew insolent. One of the crew, an intelligent looking fellow, who was sitting at the stern with a book in his hand, was watching him closely. I entered into conversation with him, and he told me he was a Kentuckian and that he was working his way home; that this mocking fellow had made life bitter to him when he first entered on the boat and that he would get even with him when on shore. The book he read was a collection

of plantation melodies. I sang some of them to him which pleased him very much. After this we were annoyed no further for when the fellow passed us again he said to the Kentuckian: "I've removed your truck. You owe me a bitters when we get ashore; don't you forget to pay me." "I'll pay you," he replied. We arrived early in the morning and as we left the boat, we saw the Kentuckian paying his bitters to the joker in various kicks and cuffs.

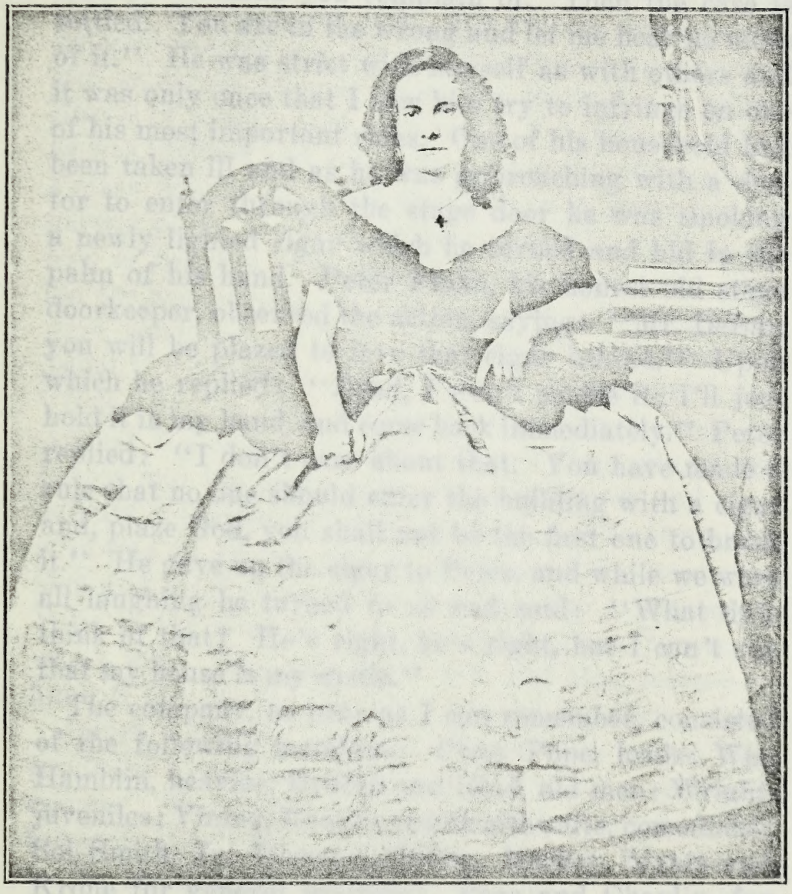
After seeing my family I at once proceeded to the St. Louis Theatre to see Waldauer, who was DeBar's leader of the orchestra. The company from New Orleans was playing the summer season, and I found Waldauer in front of the theatre, where, after the customary greetings, he informed me that he had recommended me to DeBar and urged me to see him at once. The first time that I ever came in contact with DeBar, or rather when he came in contact with me was while I was acting as a super. DeBar was playing Von Brummel in the "Flying Dutchman," and I was a sailor whose part it was to haul a rope on deck during a storm. While I was performing this duty in what I thought a highly artistic manner, DeBar who thought that I was probably playing the part too well or too much, picked up a rope's end with a big knot in it, and with it gave me such a whack on the back that I turned in fright and pain upon him, saying: "What's the matter?" Upon which he gruffly growled: "You drop that rope, that's what's the matter." From this circumstance I had conceived an idea of him as a very rude and unsociable man, but on this, my second approach, I was entirely undeceived. I entered his office and found him seated at a long table and upon seeing me said: "You are Mr. Krone, are you?" I replied, "Yes, sir," upon which he continued: "Egad, I thought so. Waldauer gave a good description of you. He tells me that you sing and that you are clever with



BEN DeBAR.

the combat sword, two accomplishments you will find very useful in my theatre." After telling me of the advantages which his theatre possessed for a young man I signed a contract for that present summer season at home and the following winter season in New Orleans, an engagement of forty-three weeks. My line of buiness was that of a "Respectable Utility Man," with a promise to advance me as speedily as possible, and a salary of $10.00 per week in St. Louis and $12.00 in New Orleans. He then gave me a part in which I was to open the third night following, and going with me to the door, said, laughingly: "I hear you are very prompt and exact in your business. That's right, for whether you are the president of the United States or a match peddler, if you want to succeed in the business, egad, you've got to attend to it. Good-bye. Rehearsal tomorrow morning at ten o'clock." Arrived at home I read over my contract. It was the first one I had ever signed, and I was terrified to see what was required of me, and the penalties I should incur in case I violated any of its rules. There were penalties ranging from one dollar to a week's salary and discharge from the theatre, for such offenses as spitting upon the stage, swearing, talking loudly, coming too late, intoxication and quarreling. I was told, however, by a friend that they were seldom if ever enforced excepting the one relating to a discharge, and that only in extreme cases. In later years this instrument was greatly modified. But although these fines were not enforced, the theatre was conducted strictly on the principles of order and propriety, and like all first-class theatres of that period, had an efficient force to fill all the various departments. Each of the principal lines of business had a second, such as a second heavy man, old man and comedian, a first and second property man, a prompter and his assistant call boy, a first and second stage carpenter, all

of whom were strictly confined to their respective duties and not to attend to any other, and when their work was was not required they were to do as they liked. The consequence of this was that the business went on quietly and calmly, with no other noise than that which might proceed from the stage during a performance. The actors were called from the green room for their entrance on the stage at the proper time and stood on the inner side of a broad white line that was drawn from the rear of the stage to the proscenium and when the cue was given they crossed it and entered. The hours for rehearsal and commencement were published in the green room, and ten minutes' grace was allowed for difference in time from the prompter's clock. This clock was placed in the prompter's stand and the time to begin the waits that might occur, the length of each act, imperfection in the lines, accidents, together with applause and calls before the curtain were noted by the prompter and formed into a written report. The treasurer made reports of the stars that were playing, the receipts of the house, and the condition of the weather, and whatever else might occur in the front of the house. Next to DeBar, who was stage manager, the prompter was in command, and whatever occurred was reported to this official and noted down and entered in his report. The following day all reports were copied in a log book as accurately as they are on board a man-of-war. Every two weeks the property man, stage carpenters, painters and janitors were required to present their bills of expenses and give an account of what had been purchased, all of which was recorded in the log, so that DeBar knew what was going on and possessed a means of reference for the future. Another institution was the so-called board which consisted of the officials and some older men of the company to judge on any differences or quarrels among the employes. DeBar was an inveterate enemy of gossips



MRS. BEN DEBAR (HATTIE VALLEE).

and meddlers. A young fellow who thought himself treated unfairly by one of his colleagues called upon DeBar for redress, but when he heard that the board was to be called to deliberate upon his case he objected, upon which DeBar replied: "You are afraid to meet the man you complain of. Then the case is settled. You are in the wrong and let me hear no more of it." He was strict with himself as with others and it was only once that I saw him try to infringe on one of his most important rules. One of his household had been taken ill and as he was approaching with a doctor to enter through the stage door he was smoking a newly lighted cigar which he turned and hid in the palm of his hand. Peter Finan, his honest old stage doorkeeper, observed the action, saying: "Mr. DeBar, you will be plazed to lave that cigar behind." Upon which he replied: "Egad, I won't smoke it; I'll just hold it in my hand, and come back immediately." Peter replied: "I don't care about that. You have made a rule that no one should enter the building with a cigar and, plaze God, you shall not be the first one to break it." He gave up the cigar to Peter, and while we were all laughing he turned to us and said: "What dy'e think of that? He's right, he's right, but I can't say that my house is my castle."

The company, as near as I can remember, consisted of the following members: Chas. Pope, leads; Wm. Hamblin, heavies; Griffith and Hind, old men; Wright, juveniles; Vining, Bowers and Braithwaite, comedians; Sol Smith, Jr., Howard, Golden, Mackey, Mantz and Krone for general business; Page and Chaplin, for walking gents. The ladies were as follows: Miss Gladstone, leads; Miss Howard, old woman; Miss Hattie Vallee (Mrs. DeBar), dancer and pantomimist. There were several others whose names I have forgotten. Chas. Pope, then in the very bloom of youth, presented a superb stage appearance. His tall, well-knit and

finely proportioned frame, his manly features and sonorous voice, to which his educated mind added dignity and expression, combined to make of Pope a superior interpreter of love, heroism, and the brilliant characteristics of romance. I looked upon him then with a kind of awe and admiration and wondered if I should ever be anything like him. His stately presence and graceful bearing and his well-informed mind procured him numerous friends among the learned and refined classes of society, both here and in New Orleans, where he was idolized and naturally a great favorite with the French population. But excellent as he proved in his parade parts, those of ordinary mortals, such as old men or beggars, ever seemed to fit him as well. During the engagement of Julia Dean the following pieces were produced: "The Hunchback," "Romeo and Juliet," "Adrienne Lecouvreur," "Ingomar," and "Griseldis," a play translated from the German by August Waldauer. In these dramas Pope played the heroes and the lovers with that tenderness and masculinity characteristic of all his work. Julia Dean likewise was an actress that in her highest flights of passion and grief never forgot that she was a woman, as Pope in the most intense love scene never forgot he was a man. The pair fitted well and they seemed to know it for shortly after they starred together.

James Anderson appeared during this season and produced Coriolanus which he played in a masterly manner. The Keller troupe also paid us another visit bringing new tableaux entitled "Kane's Expedition to the North Pole," in which they used a live white bear, who came near putting me out of business. My habit was to be the first man at the theatre.[1] One eve-

[1] The only man that ever broke my record for coming early to the theatre was no less a person than Gen. Grant, whom I found on a cold and wet night standing in front of the box office door with his wife and little daughter as I passed to the stage entrance a few minutes past six. I saluted the General, and he said, 'I beg your

ning I arrived before the gas was lit. I felt my way to the green room and there sat down in the dark awaiting the gas man. Presently I felt something hairy rubbing against my knees, and thinking it was one of DeBar's pets, his big dog Jack, I stroked his head, when the animal crawled upon my breast and twined his forelegs around my neck and began to squeeze me in a manner that aroused me to the fact that these demonstrations were not those of old Jack, but Keller's polar bear, and I began to be very much frightened. I was afraid to cry out for fear of making things worse and began to stroke him and call him pet names, upon which he tightened his embrace and thrust his nose into my face, giving me the benefit of a very strong and hot breath that promised no good. At this juncture the gas man and the bear-keeper entered with a torch, and the bear seeing the light loosened his hold and went toward his keeper, who said: "We are just in time, for though he is young and not fierce, he has got the habit of squeezing everything alive, and his hug is a bone breaker." The Keller troupe were not as successful as on their first visit owing perhaps to the fact that since that period Mrs. Keller's two beautiful sisters had left the company and married, one to the stage manager of the troupe and the other to a gentleman of this city. The performances notwithstanding were still beautiful and as unlike anything of the kind produced since, as the Greek Parthenon would be compared to a Queen Anne cottage. Not long after this engagement Mrs. Keller died of the yellow fever in Habana and the company disbanded.

As for myself, I was getting along in good style. DeBar gave me every opportunity to improve. All the small heavy parts and most difficult and important bits

pardon, Mr. Krone, what time does this box office open?" I replied that he was an hour too early. Mrs. Grant laughed and said: "I told him so." "Well,' he replied, "We'll take a little walk on Fourth street meanwhile. I thank you, good evening."

were allotted to my share, a proof that he was satisfied with me. He also improved me in sword exercise, of which he was a master, until I was able to play the Bandit in the Dumb Girl of Genoa, or the Drunken Corporal, which was a favorite part with him and in which we fought a fierce and difficult combat. I was fortunate to have so excellent a teacher, and though I played so many great parts during my late wanderings and longed for a higher position, I was comparatively satisfied.

During this season the yellow fever had been raging in New Orleans and it was supposed that DeBar would not begin the winter season in that city until a much later date. My mother implored me not to go under any circumstances. I consented to remain, but neglected to send in my resignation, as I still hoped something would turn up to make it possible for me to go, when up went a notice for the company to leave for New Orleans, and I, ashamed to ask for my release at so short a notice remained at home while the company went on their way. This is the first and only time I ever broke a contract, and in speaking about it to DeBar some years after, he laughed, and said that he did not blame me for not going, for his heavy man, James Riley, died of the yellow fever as late as October, but that I should have told him of it, because he waited three weeks for me. This was true, for the following winter I was engaged for the leading heavy business in Louisville. I had played Black Norris in the Wrecker's Daughter with considerable success. After the play, Mrs. Farren, who was the star, said: "You are the gentleman Mr. DeBar waited for three weeks in New Orleans. I don't blame you for not going, as you are in the right place now. If you had stayed at home you would never have gotten any higher."

A week after the company had left for New Orleans I received a letter from John Allen, my former man-

ager, to return to St. Joseph for the winter season, which I declined. The greater number of the St. Joseph company had found engagements in large cities. Clara Walters and her husband were the principals in a Cincinnati theater; Wallace, in Baltimore; Kate Denin Ryan and her husband, at Louisville, Ky., where I was confident they would recommend me if I desired it. I wrote to Sam Ryan to further my cause in that quarter with John T. Lorton, the manager to whom I had applied for the position of leading heavy man. Although on general principles I was indifferent as to whether a character was moral or not as long as it was positive and gave scope for action, I chose that line of business called the heavies, which includes the villain, intriguers, and the strong characters of a drama, because it appeared to me to be the one that stood more on the individual merits of an actor than any of the others, and gave better opportunity for revealing the various passions that stir the human heart, and a larger sphere of action. The courage, resolution and intelligence of a Richard III., although employed for evil, to me were of more aesthetic and moral value than the lovesick wailings of a prurient and one-idea Romeo or Claude Melnotte, who were neither good nor bad, although more popular with the public. With all my heart and soul I wished to act, to disindividualize myself, to produce something that I could do and not what I merely happened to be, and for this purpose the portrayal of the dark side of humanity offered the best advantages. But when I looked around and saw the trivialities and buffoonery that were beginning to take the place of better things, without any visions of ever being a great star with a great income and a villa on Long Branch, for such an idea never entered my mind, I was resolved to do all in my power to make myself proficient in what I had undertaken, and to reach a degree of mastership in which I would be solid with my

manager and satisfactory to an intelligent public. And that while I was representing the villains of the world, tearing the mask from hypocrisy and revealing to the light of day the dark designs of crime and brutality, I was not only doing my duty as a mere actor but as a moral teacher and a good citizen—applause or hisses. It was an elevated mission to me and I was willing to wait patiently, and to enjoy whatever the performance of duty might bring.

On the 28th of September, 1859, I received an answer to my letter from Louisville stating that if I wished to come on trial I was welcome to do so. I was overjoyed for I had no fear of the result. Another step upward in life had been gained. And so two days later, on a bright Sunday morning, I stepped from the train at Louisville, Ky., with a buoyant and hopeful heart, while the curtain slowly descended on my second act.

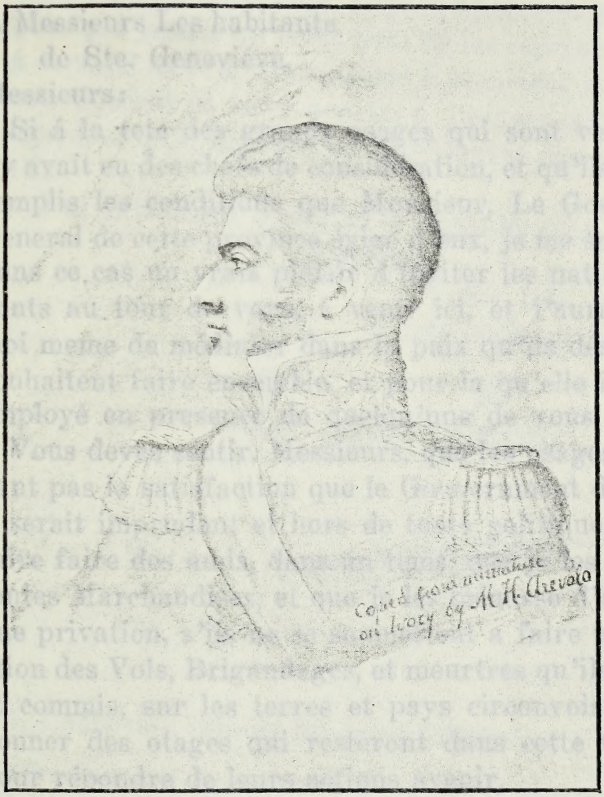
GRAND JURY PRESENTMENT, JUNE TERM, 1805.

Destrict of Louisiana }
Destrict of St. Louis }

We the Grand Jurors for the Destrict of St Louis Having the Safety of the Inhabitants at Heart, and as a Great number of Savages are at Present in the Destrict and more are Daily Arriving—and Whereas some evil Disposed persons do Sell Barter or give to the Said Savages, Speritious Liquors in such Quantitys as to put them in a State of Intoxication, and thereby Endanger the Lives and Propertys of the Said Inhabitants—

We the Grand Jurors for the Destrict Aforesaid do ernestly request the Court to take the Same Ameadiately into Concideration, and Devise such means as they in their wisdom may think proper to prevent the like in Future.

JOHN BIGGS Foreman



Manuel Perez

LETTER OF DON MANUEL PEREZ TO THE PEOPLE OF SAINTE GENEVIEVE, 1791.[1]

A Messieurs Les habitants
de Ste. Geneviéve.

Messieurs:

Si á la tete des grands osages qui sont venu ici il l'y avait eu des chefs de considération, et qu'ils eussent remplis les conditions que Monsieur, Le Gouverneur General de cette province éxige d'eux, je me serais fait dans ce cas un vrais plaisir d'inviter les nations résidants au tour de vous, á venir ici, et j'aurais servi moi meme de médiater dans la paix qu'ils désirent, et souhaitent faire ensemble, et pour la qu'elle ils m'ont employé en presence de quelqu'uns de vous.

Vous devez sentir, Messieurs, que les osages ne rendant pas la satisfaction que le Gouvernment demande; il serait imprudant et hors de toute politique, de leur faire faire des amis, dans un tems, que je les prive de toutes Marchandises, et que je les ménasse d'une Longue privation, s'ils ne se soumettent a faire un réparation des Vols, Brigandages, et meurtres qu'ils ont fait et commis, sur les terres et pays circonvoisins, et á donner des otages qui resteront dans cette Capitale, pour répondre de leurs actions avenir.

J'ai ete informé, par Monsieur Peyroux du dernier vol de chevaux qu'ils vous ont fait, et dont vous m'instruisez vous memes par votre représentation en datte du 22 du Courant, je n'est pas manqué de leur en faire des reproches, ils m'ont repondus que ce n'etait pas eux, que cela ne pouvait etre que les Petits osages. Je leur dit que je m'attendait bien qu'ils ne l'avouraient pas, mais que je regardais toujours la chose comme si

[1] This document is from the interesting and important *Vallé Collection*, for which the Missouri Historical Society is indebted to the late Captain Francis Vallé.

c'était eux memes puis qu'ils souffraient les petits osages avec eux,—á cela il m'ont promis beaucoup plus, je crois qu'ils ne me tiendront.

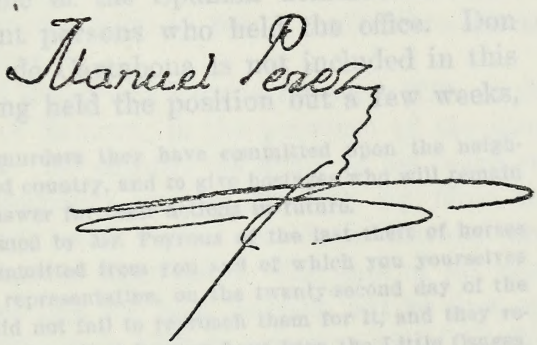
Je vois avec peine, Messieurs, les torts que les nations osages vous cause, et je m'apperçois aujourd'hui plus que jamais qu'il est tems de les reprimer, je ferais á ce sujet des representations á Monsieur Le Gouverneur Général de cette province, j'espere qu'il l'y aura égard, et qu'il donnera en conséquence des ordres positifs.

J'ai L'honneur d'etre avec Considération.

Messieurs

Votre trés humble

et trés obéisant Serviteur



St. Louis des Illinois 26 Avril 1791.[2]

[2] Translation of the foregoing, by Antoinette Douglas:

To *Messieurs*, the inhabitants of Ste. Genevieve.

Gentlemen:—If at the head of the Grand Osages who came here, there had been chiefs of consideration and if they had fulfilled the conditions which the Governor General of this province demanded of them, it would have given me real pleasure in this case to invite the nations residing around you to come here, and I should have acted as a mediator in the peace which they desire, and which they wish to make together, and for which they have enlisted my services in the presence of some of you.

You must feel, gentlemen, that the Osages do not give the satisfaction which the Government asks for; it would be imprudent and against all policy, to make them make friends, at a time when I deprive them of all merchandise and threaten them with a long deprivation, if they do not set themselves to repair the thefts, acts

DON MANUEL PEREZ.

Little has been known, hitherto, of the Spanish governors of the country first designated as "the Western part of the Illinois" and afterwards as Upper Louisiana. They made their homes at St. Louis during their terms of office, and were identified with our people in many ways, but, for some unknown reason, the story of their lives has been forgotten. The MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY has been, for several years, gathering materials for biographical sketches of these men, which sketches it is expected will be published from time to time in the near future.

During the time of the Spanish domination there were six different persons who held the office. Don Silvio Francisco de Cartabona is not included in this number, he having held the position but a few weeks,

of brigandage and murders they have committed upon the neighboring territories and country, and to give hostages who will remain at this Capital to answer for their actions in future.

I have been informed by Mr. Peyroux of the last theft of horses which they have committed from you and of which you yourselves inform me by your representation, on the twenty-second day of the present month. I did not fail to reproach them for it, and they replied that it was not they, that it must have been the Little Osages. I told them that I expected as much although they did not confess it, but that I always looked upon the things as being done by them, since they allowed the Little Osages to be with them,—at this they promised me much more, which promises I do not believe they will keep.

I see with sorrow, gentlemen, the wrongs which the Osage nations cause you, and I perceive today, more than ever, that it is time to repress them. I will make representations to the Governor General of this province concerning this matter, which I hope he will respect, and I hope that he will give positive orders in consequence.

I have the honor of being with consideration,

Gentlemen,

Your very humble
and very obedient servant,
MANUEL PEREZ.

St. Louis of the Illinois, April 26, 1791.

ad interim, owing to the death of DeLeyba. Nor is St. Ange de Bellerive, the first governor resident at St. Louis, included, for the reason that, although he was recognized by the Spanish authorities, he was in fact an officer of the King of France until possession of the country was delivered to Spain in 1770.

The fourth of the Spanish governors was Don Manuel Perez. His official title was lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief; that is to say he was the chief official in this portion of the province, but he was subordinate to the governor of the whole province whose station was at New Orleans. In fact, however, owing to the distance between the capitals, the difficulties of communication and the condition of the country, the lieutenant-governor was, in many particulars, an independent officer.

Don Manuel Perez was born in the year 1735, at the famous City of Zamora, in the province of the same name in Spain He entered the army in his twentieth year, and apparently worked his way up from the ranks. He saw much active service in Europe, and reached the rank of lieutenant. The date of his coming to America has not been learned, but he first appeared in Louisiana, in 1769, in company with O'Reilly. In 1773, he was at the siege and capture of the British forts on the Mississippi, and in 1783 he accompanied Galvez on his expedition against the British at Mobile and Pensacola, during which he commanded the company of *Chasseurs* of his own regiment, he having become captain in 1780.

He married about 1776, at New Orleans, Mlle. Jeanne Catherine Dubois, of that city.

In 1787 he was appointed lieutenant-governor, and assumed the office at St. Louis, 27 November, 1787; succeeding Don Francisco Cruzat.

One of the first official acts of Governor Perez was to recommend the better fortification of the village of

MADAME PEREZ.

St. Louis, and he also endeavored to persuade the Spanish government to erect forts on the Des Moines and San Pedro rivers, but none of these propositions were received with favor.

During his administration the Osage Indians were very troublesome, and in order to hold them in check he invited the Delaware and Shawnee Indians from the United States to remove to his territories to act as a buffer against the Osages. His invitation was accepted and many of the Delawares and Shawnees settled in what is now the southeastern part of Missouri.

Col. George Morgan visited Governor Perez at St. Louis and explained to him his project of making a settlement of Americans in the Spanish territory, a project which resulted in the settlement at New Madrid. Perez received Morgan with favor and gave him assistance in many ways. It is said that it was during the administration of Perez that the honeybee first appeared west of the Mississippi, and Möllhausen relates that the rich honey harvest produced by the wild bees in the year 1792, was one of the important events in the annals of the country.[1]

That same year Perez was superseded in office by Don Zenon Trideau, who entered upon the administration 21 July, 1792.

Perez returned to New Orleans, and on 3 April, 1793, he petitioned the King in consideration of his services, "his greatly advanced age, and his being one of those to form the first battalion of this province, to please deign to honor him with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and the enjoyment of the monthly pay, to which said post is entitled, and at the same time to permit him to retire from your royal service with brevet rank at this post, in order that he may with this pay and rank, support his large family which consists of his wife

[1] *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord Amerikas*, p. 23.

and six children. The eldest of the latter is a cadet in this regular regiment." He also stated to His Majesty "that he has contracted the special merit of commanding the settlements of the western part of Ylinoia for the space of five years, with the rank of lieutenant-governor and commandant. In that post, because of the rigorous winters, commenced the attacks against his health from which he suffers at present."

His colonel, Don Francisco Bouligny, supported his petition, and said that his conduct had always been very satisfactory, and that he had distinguished himself in the intelligence and management of the accounts and papers of the treasury, and by the zeal and valor with which he had borne himself on all occasions. The Baron de Carondelet, the governor of the Province, wrote to the King that he considered Perez entitled to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, with the pay of a retired captain in view of the fact that he enjoyed a fortune quite sufficient to support himself and his family with decency.[2]

Perez received his appointment as lieutenant-colonel, and held, in his retirement, important civil positions under the government. He died at New Orleans in 1814, aged about seventy-nine years.

His eldest son, Manuel Zirilo Perez, married Marie Feliciana Magdalina Toutant Beauregard, of the family of General Gustave Toutant Beauregard, and their daughter—the granddaughter of Governor Perez—married Fernando Gayoso de Lemos, son of Governor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos. Their descendants, and the descendants of the daughters of Governor Perez are now living at New Orleans.[3]

[2] 1 Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, p. 369.

[3] For the personal details regarding Governor Perez, and for the portraits of the Governor and his wife, the thanks of the HISTORICAL SOCIETY are due to Mrs. Felicité Gayoso de Lemos Tennent, of New Orleans, a great-granddaughter of Governor Perez and a granddaughter of Governor Gayoso.

HOUCK'S HISTORY OF MISSOURI.[1]

Mr. Houck has well earned the gratitude of all Missourians. The three substantial volumes of this history constitute a storehouse of information and entertainment. Although it comes to an end with the admission of the State into the Federal Union, it covers the period of the beginnings of our history so thoroughly that the story of that time will never have to be rewritten. And it sets the standard so high that we may confidently hope that future writers who continue the work down to our own times may be encouraged to maintain an equal level.

The first thing that strikes the reader upon examining the book is the immense amount of labor required to get together the material and reduce it into the logical arrangement and readable form in which we find it. It is a work that could not be done by a professional historian.

The years of research for materials, the great expense in procuring them, and the fact that pecuniary compensation or even reimbursement was not to be hoped for, would have barred anyone not moved by interest in and love for the subject from ever undertaking it. We may congratulate ourselves that this portion of our history had remained, until now, unwritten. For only a virgin and unexplored subject would have been sufficiently inviting to induce even so good a Missourian as Mr. Houck to make the sacrifice required for its accomplishment.

[1] A History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements Until the Admission of the State into the Union. By Louis Houck. Three volumes. Chicago: R. R. Donnelly & Sons Company, 1908. For sale by Naeter Brothers, Cape Girardeau.

The work to be done was one of unusual difficulty. The history of Missouri, unlike that of most of the States, has three beginnings—the Spanish, the French and the American. The fact that the inhabitants were transferred from the Government of one country to that of another without their own wishes being considered, tended to suppress the pride of race and achievement out of which a love for history is developed. Our first-comers had none of the self-consciousness of the Pilgrims, and were not impressed with the idea that the world was watching the results of their experiment. Consequently, there is to be found almost nothing in the way of historical writing produced by Missourians who became such prior to the transfer of the country to the United States. The well-known fragment of Col. Auguste Chouteau's Journal, concerning the founding of St. Louis, stands practically alone.

When the French and Spanish officers withdrew from the country they carried with them the official records. The American settlers, who came into the country after the transfer in 1804, had all of their thoughts turned towards the future, which they purposed making for themselves, and were not concerned with the past of the country into which they came. They were for the most part wholly unsympathetic with the people whom they found here, and very generally provoked in those people feelings of dislike and contempt. The result of this that the American rule was not a continuation of what had gone before. There was an abrupt breaking off from the old and a new beginning. Several of the Spanish Governors were of French blood, and those who were Spaniards knew and made use of the French language, which was that of most of the inhabitants. The Americans neither knew nor cared for any language but their own. Their aims were material, and in the struggle "to get on" things not helpful

to that end were little considered. There were individuals who were notable exceptions, but such was the rule.

In consequence of all this, the first question that confronted Mr. Houck when he began his work was whether or not there was in existence sufficient material to reconstruct the history of the first hundred years, during which white people had lived within the present limits of the State. What was to be found in this country was wholly inadequate; and to answer the question the archives of Canada, France, Spain, Cuba and Mexico had to be ransacked. Much of this Mr. Houck had to have done under general instructions, that is, to see what could be found. What was there discovered is the foundation of the first two volumes of this book. The sources from which the details of the story could be filled in are various and widely scattered. The journals of explorers, the relations of the early missionaries, the *memoires* of the French military officers, the church records, the public archives of the United States and of Missouri, the documents relating to the private affairs and business of the people which were left at the various posts at the time of the transfer, stories of travelers, law reports, private letters and the recollections of individuals have all been studied, and a scrap found here and there, which, after being duly tested, was woven into the narrative. The resulting story is a romantic and extremely interesting one. First, the French explorers, traders, missionaries and soldiers, with one fort (Fort Orleans) on the Missouri, and one village (Sainte Genevieve) on the Mississippi; then the growth of a group of villages in the wilderness under the Spanish; then the rush of the Americans, who, in less than twenty years made Missouri into a State.

The book begins with an account of the settlement of the boundaries of the State, an account of its geological

history, and a description of its physical appearance before it was transformed by the ax and the plow. The praises which the early travelers bestowed upon the climate, the landscape, the forests, the rivers and the soil, are in harmony with Hennepin's declaration that this part of the country should be known as "the delight of America." The second chapter treats of the pre-historic remains which are so abundant throughout the State, and which have as yet received little scientific consideration. A special survey was made of a good part of the State, and the result of it is shown on numerous county maps, with which, together with reproductions of photographs, the chapter is illustrated. The story of the discovery, and of the various French and Spanish explorations is then told. Chapter VII gives an account of the Missouri Indians; those who dwelt within the borders of the State and those who used parts of it as their hunting grounds. Who they were, where they lived, what their habits and methods of life were, and the treatment which they gave to and received from the whites, is here told in a most interesting manner. The old Indian traces or trails are described and a map of the State given showing the principal ones. And it is to be noticed that at the present time the course of many of these trails has been utilized by the railroads.

Following this begins the history of the country as the abiding place of the white people. First the traders and, what we may now call, prospectors, then soldiers, and, lastly, settlers. It is a little known fact that French Canadian traders had ascended the Missouri River to the Platte as early as 1705. Then comes the cession to Spain, and an account of the Spanish occupation and government. A chapter is devoted to each of the towns; Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Charles, New Madrid and Cape Girardeau, with an account of the outlying villages The methods of life of the early inhabitants are

pictured, with an account of their manners, their dress, their hospitality, their business, their methods of travel, their inns, their schools, their churches and religious life, illustrated by anecdotes of incident and adventure characteristic of their situation. The story of the intrigues between the Americans and the Spanish is recounted, and the details of the sale of Louisiana by France to the United States briefly given. Chapter XXI is devoted to the transfer of Upper Louisiana at St. Louis, in March, 1804, from Spain to France and from France to the United States. In it is depicted the attitude of the people toward their new rulers, and their chagrin and discontent at being abandoned by their mother country of France, and by Spain, which had been to them a most kindly stepmother.

The third volume tells of the American domination and settlement and the growth to statehood. The government of Upper Louisiana was, in the beginning, a thoughtless makeshift. Without any bad purpose on the part of the rulers, the rights of the original inhabitants were in many ways wholly disregarded. Their numbers were not sufficient to warrant them in resisting, and they submitted as a matter of necessity.

Mr. Houck tells of the legislation by which the government was Americanized, of the governors, among whom there were some notable personages, of the courts and the lawyers. One chapter is devoted to a most interesting account of the settlement of the land titles. From the Creole standpoint the dealing of the Federal Government with the Louisiana land titles appears to be a series of disastrous blunders which produced great injustice and much suffering. Mr. Houck looks at the matter from the American point of view, however, and gives little emphasis to this phase of it, though he is no way partisan.

The social and political changes brought about by the

influx of Americans is an interesting subject, which Mr. Houck has dealt with with much care. And in this connection he tells of the notable persons of that time, of the pioneer physicians, postmasters and newspaper men, and of the duels by which many good men were lost to the State. Most Missourians will be surprised to learn that their State was actively involved, within its own borders, in the War of 1812. The account of the events in Missouri during the war is by no means the least interesting of the seven chapters that go to make up this volume, and it is the first connected account that is to be found in print.

The great rush of settlers began soon after the close of that war. New settlements sprang up on every hand and the old ones began to take on a new importance. Mr. Houck has traced the source of the streams of immigration which flowed into the State, and has preserved the names of many of the individuals who were notable among the newcomers. A full account is given of the New Madrid earthquake, and also of its most disastrous result, the land grants in aid of the sufferers, which plastered the State with fraudulent "New Madrid claims."

The early Protestant missionaries, ministers and churches are the subject of Chapter XXVIII. Chapter XXIX which concludes the book, tells of the movement for statehood. An account is given of the constitutional convention, its members, and its work; of the election of the first senators, Benton and Barton, and of the admission of the State to the Union.

While Mr. Houck gives a full account of the public history of the time, he does much more. From the number of individuals mentioned, it seems safe to say that few of the early inhabitants of any importance have escaped Mr. Houck's research. The course of the narrative runs on uninterrupted, but in the notes the names

of the landowners in each community, the soldiers, the traders and voyageurs are set out, with such information as could be obtained about each. The volumes abound in portraits, many here first published. And many old maps and plans, some now first obtained from the archives of Spain, are reproduced. There are necessarily a few errors to be found. For instance, the year 1808 is, following many writers, given as the date of the incorporation of the town of St. Louis, instead of 1809, the correct date. But the errors are few and unimportant. The book may be depended upon for its accuracy, and in its comprehensiveness, its fairness and its readable quality it takes the lead among State histories.

Killbuck's Marital Adventures. — "For twenty years I packed a Squaw along. Not one, but a many. First I had a Blackfoot—the darndest slut as ever cried for fofarrow. I lodge-poled her on Colter's Creek, and made her quit. My buffler hos and as good as four packs of beaver, I gave for old Bull-Tail's daughter. He was head chief of the Ricaree, and 'came' nicely 'round' me. Thar wasn't enough scarlet-cloth, nor beads, nor vermillion in Sublette's packs for her. Traps wouldn't buy her all the fofarrow she wanted; and in two years I'd sold her to Cross-Eagle for one of Jake Hawken's guns— this very one I hold in my hands. Then I tried the Sioux, the Shian, and a Digger from the other side, who made the best moccasin as ever I wore. She was the best of all, and was rubbed out by the Yutas in the Bayou Salade. Bad was the best; and after she was gone under I tried no more."

Ruxton's *Life in the Far West.*

In Memoriam.

J. B. C. Lucas.

The family of Lucas has been notable in the history of Missouri for more than a hundred years. The first of the family who was resident here was Judge Jean B. C. Lucas, who came with his family to make his home in St. Louis in 1805.

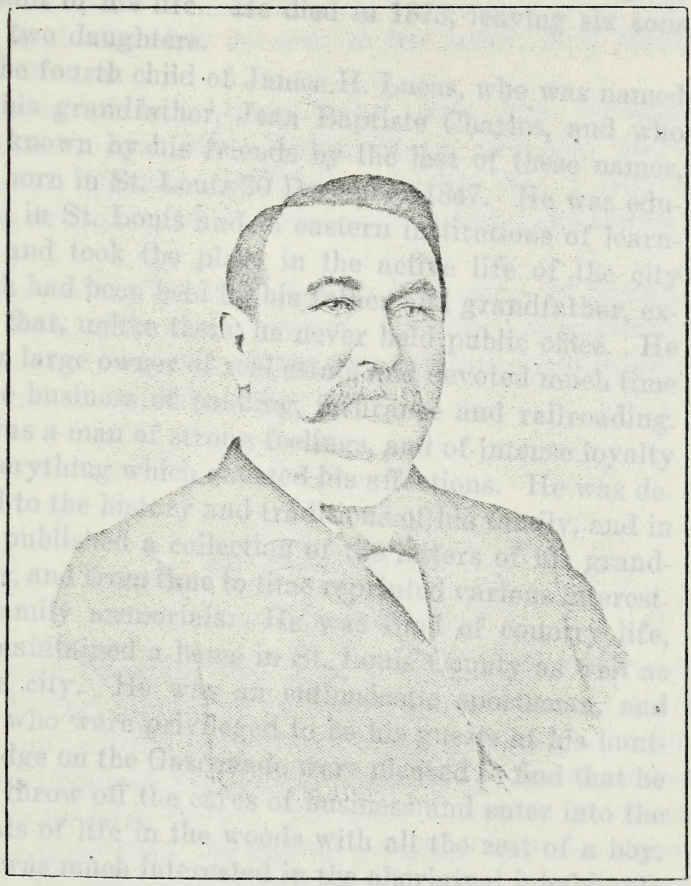
He was land commissioner and judge, and active in public affairs. He died in 1842, aged eighty-four years. He had five sons and one daughter. Four of his sons died early in life, one of them, Charles Lucas, having been killed in a duel by Col. Thomas H. Benton.

Two children, a son and daughter, lived to a ripe old age.

The daughter, Anne, married, first, Captain Theodore Hunt, and was the mother of three children. She married, second, Wilson Price Hunt, who had been the leader of the Astoria Expedition in 1811, and who was a cousin of her first husband. The little book of her recollections, written by her late in life, is a most valuable contribution to St. Louis history. She gave liberally and wisely in charity, and several of our most helpful public charitable institutions were founded by her.

The son, James H. Lucas, was for many years a leading citizen of the State. He married in Arkansas, in 1832, Miss Mary E. Desruisseaux, who was descended of a Canadian family which has produced many distinguished men in Canada and in the United States. Mr. Lucas, like his sister, gave much in charity.[2] He

[2] One of his gifts was the square immediately north of the new Public Library, the site of his father's country home. He gave that square to the city "to establish a permanent monument to the memory of his an-



John B. C. Lucas

was one of the earliest and most liberal supporters of the Missouri Historical Society. It is the purpose of the Society to publish in the near future an adequate account of his life. He died in 1873, leaving six sons and two daughters.

The fourth child of James H. Lucas, who was named for his grandfather, Jean Baptiste Charles, and who was known by his friends by the last of these names, was born in St. Louis 30 December 1847. He was educated in St. Louis and in eastern institutions of learning, and took the place in the active life of the city which had been held by his father and grandfather, except that, unlike them, he never held public office. He was a large owner of real estate and devoted much time to the business of banking, insurance and railroading. He was a man of strong feelings, and of intense loyalty to everything which enlisted his affections. He was devoted to the history and traditions of his family, and in 1895 published a collection of the letters of his grandfather, and from time to time reprinted various interesting family memorials. He was fond of country life, and maintained a home in St. Louis County as well as in the city. He was an enthusiastic sportsman, and those who were privileged to be his guests at his hunting lodge on the Gasconade were pleased to find that he could throw off the cares of business and enter into the delights of life in the woods with all the zest of a boy.

He was much interested in the aboriginal inhabitants of Missouri, and made a valuable collection of Indian weapons and utensils which he gave to the St. Louis University. Like the other members of his family, Mr. Lucas's hand was never closed against the call of charity.

He took an intelligent and active interest in public

cestor, the late Honorable John B. C. Lucas, in the shape of a public square bearing his name." The city took the gift but, for some reason Mr. Lucas's purpose as to the name was disregarded.

affairs, and was during the whole period of his manhood a supporter of the Missouri Historical Society and was for a time its Treasurer.

Mr. Lucas was twice married; first to Miss Mary Morton, and, after her decease, to her sister, Miss Isabel Lee Morton.

He had five children: Isabel, now Mrs. Sawyer; Francine, now Mrs. Kelly; Mary, now Mrs. Hart; Charles, Morton and Emilie. Emilie died 1 August 1908, at the age of six years, eight months and thirteen days.

Mr. Lucas died at Rochester, Minnesota, 16 September 1908, after a long illness. His death deprived the State of a very able citizen, and this Society of a faithful and cherished member.

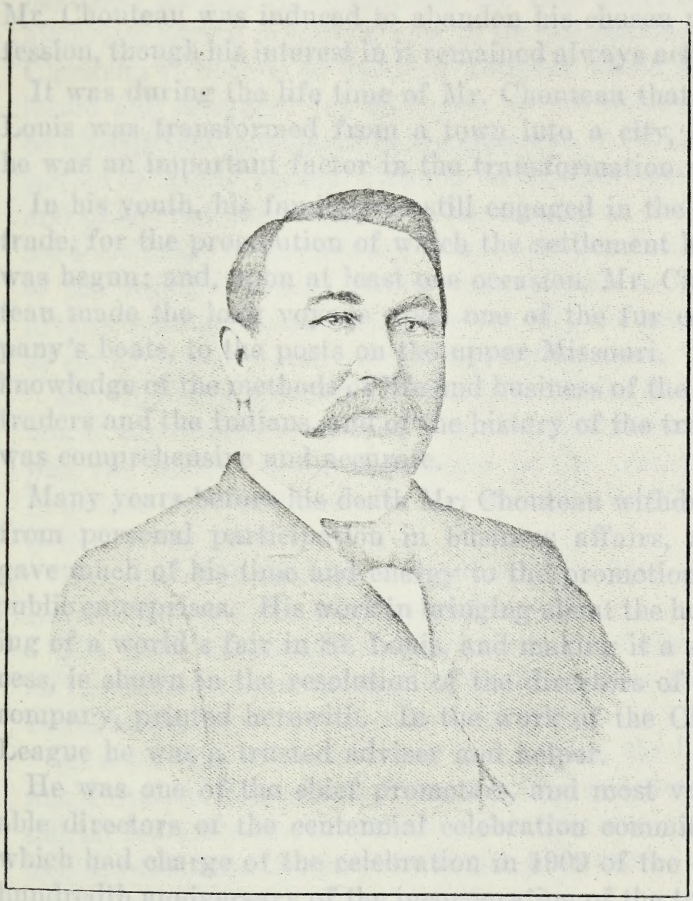
In Memoriam.

Pierre Chouteau.

Pierre Chouteau was born in St. Louis, at Seventh and Market Streets, 30 July 1849, and died at St. Luke's Hospital, after a protracted illness, 21 November 1910.

Mr. Chouteau was the son of Charles Pierre Chouteau and Julie Anne Gratiot, who were married in St. Louis 7 November 1845. He was the grandson of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., who was in his day the most distinguished business man in the State, and the great-great-grandson of Laclede, the founder of St. Louis. On the maternal side he was descended from Charles Gratiot, a pioneer St. Louisian of the first rank in character and ability.

Mr. Chouteau received his education at Seton Hall in New Jersey, and at the Royal School of Arts, Mines and Manufactures at Liege, Belgium. Upon his return from Europe in 1874, he contemplated following



John P. Lucas

This is a duplicate picture facing
P. 322. Should represent Pierre Chouteau.

the profession of civil engineer for which he had been trained, but his father being in need of his assistance in the management of his estate and business affairs, Mr. Chouteau was induced to abandon his chosen profession, though his interest in it remained always active.

It was during the life time of Mr. Chouteau that St. Louis was transformed from a town into a city, and he was an important factor in the transformation.

In his youth, his family was still engaged in the fur trade, for the prosecution of which the settlement here was begun; and, upon at least one occasion, Mr. Chouteau made the long voyage upon one of the fur company's boats, to the posts on the upper Missouri. His knowledge of the methods of life and business of the fur traders and the Indians, and of the history of the trade, was comprehensive and accurate.

Many years before his death Mr. Chouteau withdrew from personal participation in business affairs, and gave much of his time and energy to the promotion of public enterprises. His work in bringing about the holding of a world's fair in St. Louis, and making it a success, is shown in the resolution of the directors of the company, printed herewith. In the work of the Civic League he was a trusted adviser and helper.

He was one of the chief promoters, and most valuable directors of the centennial celebration committee which had charge of the celebration in 1909 of the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town of St. Louis.

The work to which he gave the most enthusiasm, perhaps, was that which he did in connection with the Missouri Historical Society. He was an officer of the Society, and a member of its board of directors for many years; withdrawing from the work only when his failing health made it necessary for him to do so. His intimate knowledge of the history of the city and its

people, his keen, intelligent interest and untiring industry was one of the chief means by which the Society has been enabled to accumulate the vast collection of historical source materials now in its possession. The Chouteau Collection of Spanish Archives which he collected and arranged for and gave to the Society will be a perpetual monument to his memory. And the collection of family papers, which he so carefully gathered and preserved, and which is indispensable to an accurate knowledge of the history of not only St. Louis, but of the whole Missouri River country, will be a still greater monument, and will earn for him the gratitude of students and readers of history for all time.

Mr. Chouteau married in 1882 Miss Lucile M. Chauvin, a kinswoman of Nicolas Chauvin Lafrenière, who was the leader of the opposition to the transfer of Louisiana to Spain, and who was executed by "Bloody O'Reilly" in 1770.

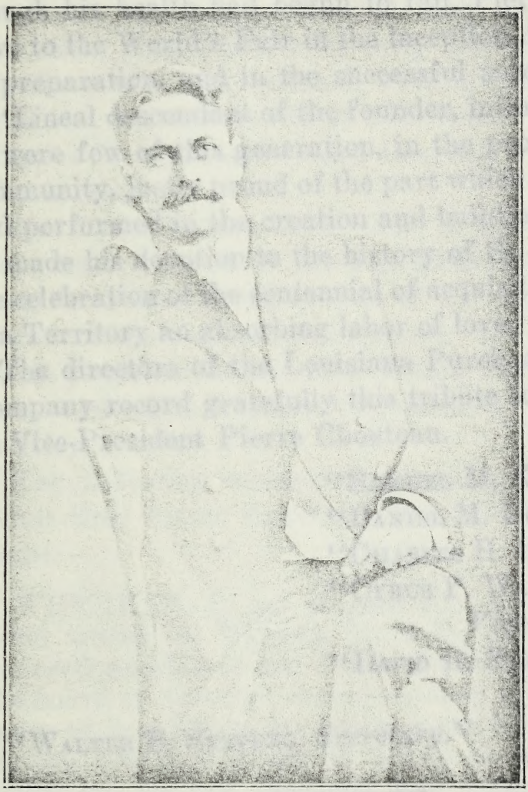
They had two children, a daughter, now Mrs. James Lucas Turner, and a son, Pierre Chouteau.

The latter as the chosen representative of the State of Louisiana, raised the flag of the State over the Cabildo, at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904.

At a meeting of the board of directors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, the following memorial tribute to the late Pierre Chouteau was adopted and spread upon the records of the company:

"The initiative action toward the celebration of the Louisiana Purchase Centennial was taken on the suggestion of Pierre Chouteau. The successive committees, which considered and determined the appropriate form such celebration should take, met and deliberated under his chairmanship. Throughout the period of careful, thorough and wise consideration Pierre Chouteau's tenacity of purpose was helpful to the movement.

"When the committee of two hundred citizens was



Malcolm Macbeth

chosen to conduct the preliminary campaign, Mr. Chouteau was made the chairman. And when, in 1901, the corporation was formed, he became one of the vice-presidents, a member of the committee on organization, and chairman of the committee on history.

"A considerable part of his time for six years, although his health had begun to fail, Pierre Chouteau gave to the World's Fair in the inception, in the period of preparation, and in the successful accomplishment.

"Lineal descendant of the founder, intimately versed as were few of this generation, in the progress of this community, justly proud of the part which his ancestors had performed in the creation and building of the city, he made his devotion to the history of St. Louis and to the celebration of the centennial of acquisition of Louisiana Territory an absorbing labor of love.

The directors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company record gratefully this tribute to the memory of Vice-President Pierre Chouteau.

"Samuel M. Kennard,
"Daniel M. Houser,
"Charles H. Huttig,
"Cyrus P. Walbridge,
Vice-Presidents.
"David R. Francis,
President.

"Walter B. Stevens, *Secretary.*"

In Memoriam.

Malcolm Macbeth.

On 12 July 1910, Malcolm Macbeth died at Battle Creek, Michigan.

He had been a member of the board of directors of the Missouri Historical Society since 1893. He was

greatly interested in the welfare of the Society and was faithful and diligent at all times in the discharge of his duties as a member of the board.

Mr. Macbeth was born at Spartansburg, South Carolina, 11 July 1865. He was a son of James Ravenel Macbeth and Agnes Wallace (Pearson) Macbeth. His ancestry was mainly Scottish and Huguenot. His American progenitors were early immigrants to South Carolina, and many of them were distinguished in the civil and military service of their State. Two of them, Charles Macbeth and Daniel Ravenel, were mayors of Charleston.

Mr. Macbeth came to Missouri in his childhood, and the greater part of his life was spent in St. Louis. He was, for a time, in the service of the city, but later engaged in the real estate business. He was for three years president of the Real Estate Exchange, the influence of which was much advanced by his unwearied activity.

The following resolution was adopted by the St. Louis Real Estate Exchange on the death of Mr. Macbeth:

WHEREAS, It has pleased Providence to remove from among us Malcolm Macbeth, an old and time-honored member of this Exchange, it seems fitting that the board of directors should publicly voice the genuine sense of loss felt by the entire membership of the Exchange, and that it should testify to the high esteem which his sterling character and many virtues, both public and private, richly earned for him. Mr. Macbeth was, in private life and in all his business relations, a man of the highest sense of honor and of distinguished personal rectitude. In his public capacity as preisdent of this Exchange, in its early years of struggle, his record of accomplishment during his three consecutive terms of office has never been surpassed by predecessors or successors. To an ardent zeal for the welfare of the Exchange he united remarkable clearness of perception and judgment, and an energy and force-

fulness which have borne fruit in many ways of advantage alike to the calling he adorned and to the city of which he was so proud.

After the expiration of his term as president of the Real Estate Exchange, he was much solicited to become a candidate for mayor of St. Louis, and, had he lived, he would probably, at sometime, have filled that office.

Mr. Macbeth married 26 November 1890 at St. Louis Miss Clara Pelagie Mitchell, who was descended through the Chouteaus, Bertholds and Ewings, from Laclede.

Mrs. Macbeth, who was a woman of unusually strong and lovable character, died 20 April 1901.

Four children survive: Claire Berthold, George Kerr, Damaris de St. Julien and Malcolm.

Mr. Macbeth was a devoted husband and father, and after the death of Mrs. Macbeth he assumed the double duty towards his children, and they were at all times first in his thoughts and the inspiration of all his actions.

He was of a sociable disposition; an unusually good-looking man, and his handsome appearance and agreeable manners caused him to be very popular socially. Yet he was a man with a genius for friendship; unselfish and with an unfailing consideration and thoughtfulness which endeared him to his friends, who will long cherish his memory.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Macbeth were ardent students of genealogy. He published, some years ago, an interesting abstract of their work in certain lines, and at the time of his death a volume embodying the results of their labors was nearly ready for the press.

F. B.

NOTES.

Errata. In connection with the note on page 143 of this volume concerning the name of the Spanish captain who came to Missouri in 1767, see fac-simile of his signature on page 273 of this issue.

In a note on page 146 of this volume it is suggested that the fort which formerly existed at St. Charles might have been one of those built by Rui. The paper printed in this issue on *The Forts at the Mouth of the Missouri River,* demonstrates that the suggestion is without support. The origin of the fort at St. Charles is a problem which remains to be worked out.

The statement on page 189 of this volume that Charlotte Camp, the widow Guion, married Moses Bates of Ste. Genevieve is erroneous. It was Charlotte Camp who married Moses Bates, but it was Catherine Camp who was the widow Guion. Catherine married Israel Dodge at St. Louis, 18 January, 1804. They are designated in the St. Louis Archives as follows:

——"le Sieur Israel Dodge fils legitime de defunt Sr. John Dodge et de Dlle. Lidy Rogers son epouse, veuf de defunte dame Theodosia Lewis, natif de l'etat du Connecticut, actuellement resident au district de la Nouvelle Bourbon, et dame Madeleine Catherine Camp, veuve de Mr. Jn. Baptiste Guion, fille legitime de deffunte Sr. Chabot [Ichabod] Camp et de Dlle. Olivier sa femme, née en Virginie, Etats Unis d'Amerique."

On page 200, acknowledgement is made of the Society's obligations to Mr. *Charles* M. Burton of Detroit. Every one interested in Western history would recognize that Mr. Clarence Monroe Burton, whose efficient work has so illuminated the subject, is the person to whom our thanks are due. Since the date of that issue Mr. Burton has placed the Society under further obligations for which he has our grateful thanks.

THE COLLECTIONS. The next issue of the COLLECTIONS, completing Volume III, will be published according to present expectations, not later than July of this year. With the publication of that number, the issue of the COLLECTIONS in periodical form will be discontinued. It is the intention of the Society to have the COLLECTIONS appear annually hereafter, in a bound volume of five or six hundred pages, to be issued, if possible, in January of each year.

THE NEW BUILDING.—In May, 1898, the Missouri Historical Society sent out an invitation to various St. Louis organizations to join in consideration of plans for the proper observance of the Louisiana Purchase Centennial, then approaching. From that formal inception developed the organization which conducted the World's Fair of 1904.

On the 1st of May, 1911, was laid the cornerstone of the Jefferson Memorial which twelve months hence will become the permanent home of the Missouri Historical Society. The site is the DeBalivere entrance to Forest Park. The building marks what was the main entrance to the World's Fair. With the statuary, the cost of the memorial will be $450,000.

By the erection of this structure for the uses to which it is to be devoted, the movement originated by the Missouri Historical Society just thirteen years ago fulfills its avowed purposes. The Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company was incorporated, first, to hold a World's Fair; second, to promote and encourage literature, history, science, information, or skill among the learned professions, intellectual culture in any branch or department, the establishment of museums, libraries, art galleries, or the erection of public monuments commemorative of state or national historical events or persons, or for all of said purposes; third, in general, to

promote, establish and maintain any institution or organization which tends to the public benefit in relation to any or several or all of the objects above enumerated, and whatever may be incidental thereto."

Having carried out the first of the objects for which it was formed—the holding of an exposition—the corporation, in the erection of the Jefferson Memorial structure and in the provision of a statue of Jefferson and other statuary of permanent character, devotes its resources to the accomplishment of the second and third subdivisions of the legislative act to which it owes its existence. By the ordinance of the city occupancy of the structure is given to the Missouri Historical Society, and by the agreement with the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, the Missouri Historical Society undertakes the preservation of the records and the exhibit of the relics and souvenirs of the World's Fair.

The structure is fireproof, there being no wood used in any part of it. The building fronts south and north its length of 330 feet; the depth is 50 feet and the height is 60 feet. The walls will be of buff Bedford stone of the highest standard; the interior walls, of concrete.

The architect of the building is Isaac S. Taylor, who was director of works of the World's Fair. The sculptor of the Jefferson statue is Karl Bitter, who was chief of sculpture of the World's Fair. The heroic statue of Jefferson, of Tennessee marble, will occupy the central rotunda. East and west will extend the wings especially designed for the purposes of an historical museum. The building stands upon an elevation just within the Park and is planned, with an unusually high basement or ground floor, to afford exhibit halls for the extensive archaeological collections of the Missouri Historical Society. These collections are, probably, the most varied and complete in the United States. In some respects they surpass those of the Smithsonian at Washington.

The Coltzenrosa. The next issue of the Coltzenrosa, completing Volume III, will be published according to present expectations, not later than July of this year. With the publication of that number, the issue of the Coltzenrosa in periodical form will be discontinued. It is the intention of the Society to have the Coltzenrosa appear promptly hereafter in a bound volume of from six hundred pages, to be issued, if possible, in January of each year.

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By the erection of this structure the Society has risen to what it is to be devoted, the movement originated by the Missouri Historical Society just thirteen years ago to fulfill its avowed purposes. The Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company was incorporated, first, to hold a World's Fair; second, to promote and encourage literature, science, history, science, information, or skill among the learned professions, intellectual culture in any branch or department, the establishment of museums, libraries, art galleries, or the erection of public monuments or memorials of state or national historical events or persons, or for all of said purposes; third, in general, to

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Other exhibits, of considerable weight, will be installed in the ground floor halls. One hall, 60 feet long and 46 feet wide, on this floor will serve as the repository of the plans and records of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and of other archives. A hall of corresponding dimensions in the other wing will be occupied by the cases of the archaeological collections, embracing some 30,000 articles. There are two other exhibit halls 20 by 36 feet on this floor, one of which will be occupied in part by the old hand engine, the hose reels and various relics of fire-fighting apparata belonging to the days of the volunteer firemen of St. Louis. A fifth exhibition hall on this floor is 20 by 51. In addition there is a large packing room. The engine room and public comfort stations, the latter more elaborate and commodious than are usually found in public parks, are located on this ground floor. These comfort stations are entered from the south side of the building, and are entirely separate from the other portions.

The main floor, entrances to which are from either side of the great rotunda, is divided into four large exhibit halls, two offices with fireproof vaults and the Jefferson Hall and anteroom. The Jefferson Hall, in which will be hung large views of the World's Fair, portraits of historic persons of the Louisiana Purchase, paintings of notable places in the Louisiana Purchase States, occupies a section of the west wing. It is planned as a place of assemblage, having accommodations for several hundred people. The Jefferson Hall occupies the full height of the two stories with a gallery on the level of the second floor. It is well adapted to show large pictures. Two of the exhibit halls on this floor are over 50 feet in length. Two others are 35 feet in length.

The second floor contains a library room 64 feet long. It has offices for the librarian and for the director. It has exhibit rooms, a lecture room, a room for students

who may wish to consult books or manuscripts. It has large vaults for the safe keeping of manuscripts. The division of the building and the arrangement with respect to accessibility and light have been made with the special requirements of an historical museum and library constantly in view. The approaches to the structure will be so constructed that vehicles will not come nearer the entrances than 250 feet. There can be no other building adjacent, so that the contents of the building will be as safe as human ingenuity can make them. During half a century the Missouri Historical Society has been assembling the collections which will be installed in this building next year. In addition to what the Society now has in hand, assurances of gifts and loans have been volunteered to such an extent that it is certain the building will be filled from the day of the formal opening. W. B. S.

The Francis Valle Papers. Since the publication of the last number of the Collections the Society has received from Captain Francis Vallé a large collection of family papers of the greatest interest as materials for Missouri History. Among them are letters from nearly all of the Spanish governors and many other letters of both private and public nature. There are also many documents of various kinds, all of importance as throwing light on the social and business life of the early days. The papers will form the Francis Vallé Collection, and will be kept together in the archives of the Society, under that designation.

Captain Vallé was born at St. Michel's, now Fredericktown, Missouri, 9 April 1829. His ancestry is given in *Notes on the Genealogy of the Vallé Family*, by the late, and always to be lamented, Mary Louise Dalton, in Volume II of these Collections. He served with credit in the Mexican War and in the war between

the States, having been a captain in the Confederate Army under General John S. Marmaduke. Captain Vallé made his home in St. Louis after the war, and died here 1 November 1910. He was a man of high character, of a most likable nature, and his friends were many and devoted.

The Waldo Papers. Mrs. W. M. Sloan of Kansas City, daughter of the late Dr. David Waldo, has deposited with the Society a number of family papers covering the years 1832-1860. Among these papers there is a diary of Dr. Waldo, and many letters, including a number from Dr. Josiah Gregg and Henry Connelly. These papers cast much light upon the history of those times, and will be published without unnecessary delay. The Waldo family furnished several of the leading men of that day, and its history should be better known.

Missourians have never shown a disposition to make much of their own. When Captain William Waldo in 1850, risked his life and his fortune, in rescuing several parties of Californian immigrants, the Missouri Legislature showed its appreciation of his acts, by asking Congress to do something. The memorial of the Legislature says:

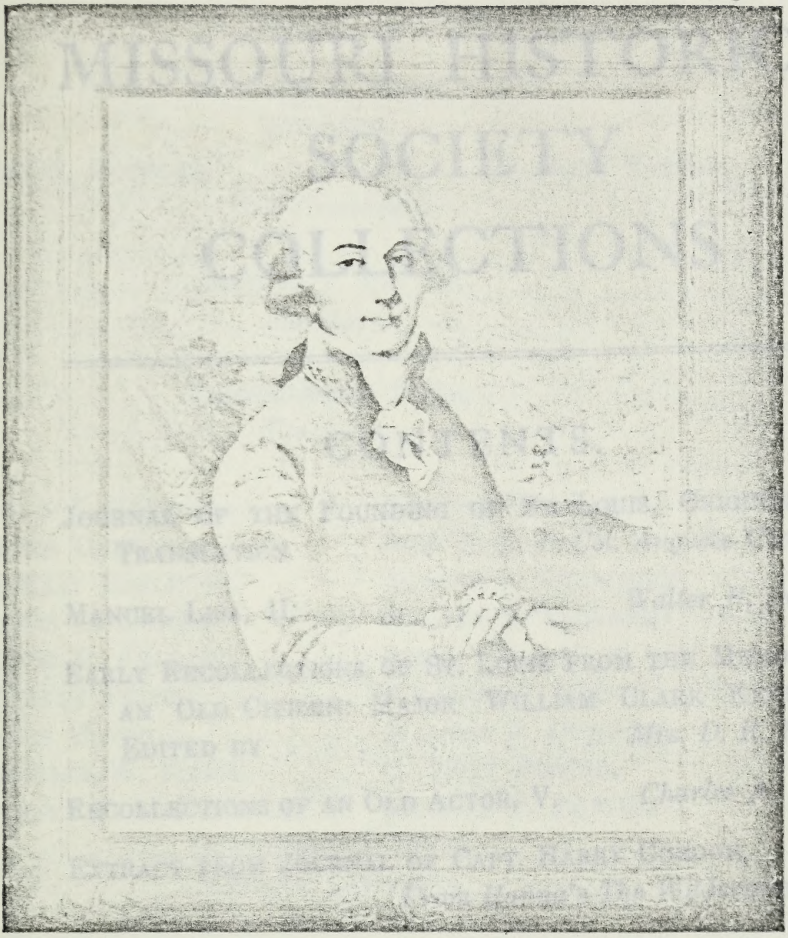
"Your memorialist alludes to the efforts of Captain William Waldo in behalf of the emigrants who were sorely afflicted with famine and disease on the latter part of the Californian trail the last fall. Citizens were found on that 'death trail' from every State in the Union, and Missouri, especially, suffered greatly. The whole Union has been recipients of Waldo's deeds of humanity, in the persons of citizens of every State, and your memorialist asks at the hands of the Government a reimbursement of his outlay, and a reward for his generous deeds of philanthropy."

It is to be hoped that the day will come when the Missouri Legislature will recognize that Missouri should take care of her own obligations.

The Beckwith Archaeological Collection. Mr. Thomas Beckwith of Charleston, Missouri, has promised to the Society the remarkable collection of Indian artifacts which he has collected by personal exploration, mainly in Scott County. Mr. Beckwith's collection is remarkable for its extent and variety, and is doubly interesting because of the fact that it was collected in one locality. Mr. Beckwith is engaged in writing an account of the collection which will be published by the Society. It is the purpose of the Society to devote a room in the new building to the exhibition of the Beckwith Collection, and to have it arranged as an educational exhibit, so that the student by its means can trace the progressive steps of aboriginal development. It is anticipated that this collection, together with the large and interesting collections already in the possession of the Society will make the new museum the resort of students from all parts of the country.

Interesting references to Mr. Beckwith's Collection and to his manner of exploration are to be found in the first volume of Houck's *History of Missouri.*

Black Hawk's Bowl. The Society has received from Miss Mary Alicia Owen of St. Joseph, the gift of an Indian bowl which was once the property of Black Hawk. It is of the capacity of about two quarts, and is beautifully cut out of the root of a walnut tree. It is accompanied by a spoon or ladle made out of the same material. The character of the bowl as an exquisite example of Indian handiwork, the fact of its having belonged to Black Hawk, and the fact that it is the gift of Miss Owen, all contribute to make it one of the most cherished possessions of the Society.



Jacques Pierre Brisot

VOLUME III 1911 NUMBER 4

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

CONTENTS.

JOURNAL OF THE FOUNDING OF ST. LOUIS, ORIGINAL AND TRANSLATION . . . *Col. Auguste Chouteau.*

MANUEL LISA, II. . . . *Walter B. Douglas.*

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS OF ST. LOUIS FROM THE MEMOIRS OF AN OLD CITIZEN: MAJOR WILLIAM CLARK KENNERLY. EDITED BY . . . . . *Mrs. D. R. Russell.*

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR, V. . *Charles A. Krone.*

EXTRACT FROM JOURNAL OF CAPT. HARRY GORDON, *From Hanna's The Wilderness Trail.*

IN MEMORIAM: EDMUND P. WALSH.
LEON J. PAPIN.

NOTES: Houck's Spanish Regime in Missouri; Smith's The Annexation of Texas; The Wisilizenus Journal; Newspaper Acquisitions; The Society's Temporary Office.

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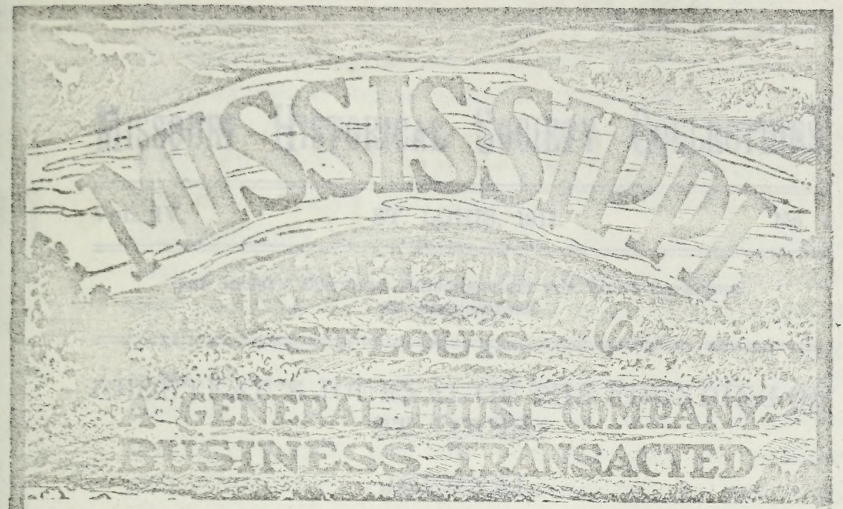

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

VOL. IV. ST. LOUIS, 1911. No. 4

THE SOCIETY DISCLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIEWS EXPRESSED BY CONTRIBUTORS.

CHOUTEAU'S JOURNAL OF THE FOUNDING OF ST. LOUIS.[1]

JOURNAL.

dans l'année 1762—Mr. Dabbadie alors Directeur général et Commandant de la Louisianne accordat a une Compagnie la traitte exclusive avec les Sauvages

[1] Chouteau's Journal is the only source of information as to the details of the founding of St. Louis. The original manuscript was given by Gabriel S. Chouteau, the youngest son of the author, to the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association in 1857. The original has never been published. The translation here printed was made by Messrs. J. Givin Brown and J. Wilmer Stith, and published as an appendix to the Twelfth Annual Report of the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association in 1858. It is here printed without change. Acknowledgments are due to the Library Association for kind permission to print the original and to reprint the translation.

Auguste Chouteau was born at New Orleans 17 September 1750. When he left New Orleans, with Laclede to come up the river, he was in his thirteenth year, and when he led the party to begin the building of St. Louis he was about thirteen and a half years old.

He seems to have been Laclede's lieutenant and chief assistant, and when Laclede died in 1778, he administered upon his estate. He married 21 September, 1786, Marie Thérèse, daughter of Gabriel Cerré. He gradually won for himself the position of the chief man of business, and acquired the greatest wealth of any citizen of the upper Louisiana country. He found great favor with the Americans upon the transfer of the country. He was appointed presiding justice of the first territorial court, and, along with Governor Clark and Governor Edwards of Illinois, commissioner to treat in behalf of the United States with the Indian nations. In 1808 he became Colonel of the Missouri militia, and in 1809 he was chairman of

du Missouri—et toutes les nations residantent a l'ouest du Mississippi pendant l'espasse de 8 annees—cette Compagnie se forma sous la raison de P^re^ Laclede Liguete, Antoine Maxan, et Compagnie aussitot les terms et conditions signées avec le gouvernement elle prit des mesures pour faire venir d'Europe toute les marchandises necessaire pour alimenter grandement son commerce qu'elle se proposée d'etendre autant que possible—en attendant les marchandises qu'elle avait demandées en Europe arriva Elle fit un armement Considerable a la tétee du quel elle mis Mr. Pr. Laclede Ligueste—Connu pour un homme d'un haut merite Capable par ses Connaissance de conduire avec Sagesse et prudance les interets de la Compagnie. Il parti donc de la n^lle^ orleans le 3 aout 1763—et arriva aux illinois le 3 Nov^bre^ suivant

observez que tous les etablissment des francais été sur la rive gauche du Mississipi qui avaient cedé aux anglais par le traitté de 1762 et que sur la rive Droit qui restait a la france il n'y avait que le faible village de Ste genevieve dans le quel Mr de Laclede ne put pas trouver une maison Capable de Contenir un quart de ses marchandises—Mr de neyon Command du fort de chartres instruit de l'embaras de Mr Laclede lui envoya un officier lui dire qu'il lui offrait le logement de ses marchandise dans son fort jusqu'a ce que les ang-

the first board of trustees of the town of St. Louis. He carried on an extensive mercantile business, was president of the Bank of Missouri, was actively interested in lead mining and was a large land owner. It is not known when the fragment here reprinted was written. It is a family tradition that he wrote the complete story of the founding and early history of St. Louis, and that the manuscript was loaned to Jean Nicolas Nicollet and was destroyed while in his possession. In the catalogue of Colonel Chouteau's library, which was a fine one for the time, there is listed "one bundle of manuscripts relating to the early history of Louisiana." It was these, probably, which were destroyed.

Colonel Chouteau died at St. Louis 24 February, 1829, leaving his widow, four sons and three daughters surviving.

lais en viennent prendre possession, la necessite lui fit accepter l'offre genereux de Mr deNeyon—il partit de St. genevieve et se rendit le 3 N^br^ 1763 au fort de chartres ou il debarqua toutes ses marchandises et fit de suite tous les equipments pour les differantes nations—apres toutes les affaires de traitte faites il s'occupa des moyens de former un etablissemt convenable a son Commerce. St genevieve ne lui Convenant pas accause de son Eloignement du missouri—et sa situation peu Salubre. Ces raisons le deciderent a chercher un syte plus aventageux. En consequence il parti du fort de chartres dans le Decembre mena avec lui un jeune homme de sa Confiance et examena tous les terrain du fort de chartres aux missouri il fut enchanté de voir la situation (ou est St. Louis presentiment) il n'esita pas un momant, d'y faire l'etablissment qu'il projettait ou ce que outre la bauté du syte—il y trouvait tous les aventages que l'ont peut desirer pour fondé un etablissement qui peut devenir trés considérable par la suite—aprés avoir tout bien examiner—il fixa l'endroit ou il voullait faire son etablissement placa de sa propre main quelques arbres—et dit chouteau tu viendera a ici aussito que la navigation sera libre tu feras défrichére—cette place pour faire notre etablissement—d'aprés le plan que je te donnerai—nous partimes de suite pour nous rendres au fort de chartres. ou il disait avec un espece d'hentousiasm a Mr Deneyon et a ses officiers qu'il avait trouvé une situation ou il allait former un etablissement qui pourrait par la suite devenir une des plus belles villes de l'Amerique tant le syte reunissait d'aventages par le

Lac pimitovai
Riviere Teakiki
Le Rocher
Riviere gasconade
Riviere St. joseph
Riviere de plaines
Chiquagou
Lac Sakacgan
Riviere Sinquement
Riviere des Renards[2]

[2] These names are written in the original as here printed.

localité et son point centrale pour faire des etablissemts il s'occupa le restant du hiver a se procurer tous les objets necessaire pour cet etablissemt, tant en hommes, vivres, outils, &c—et la navigation etant libre dans les premier jour de fevrier il arma un Bateau dans le qu'il mit 30 hommes presque tous ouvriers et il en donna la conduite á chouteau et lui dit "tu iras debarquer dans l'endroit ou nous avons plaqué des arbres—et tu commencra a faire defrechée, et batir un grand angard pour loger les vivres et les outils et des petites cabannes pour loger les hommes je le donne 2 hommes de confiance qui pourront d'idé beaucoup —je te rejoinderai sous peu. Je me rendis a la place désinée le 15 fevrier[3] dans la matiné de L'Endemain je mis les hommes au travail—ils commencerent le angared qui fut batit en peu de tems—et les petites cabanes environs. dans les premiers jours d'avril de Laclede arriva parmis nous—il s'occupa de son etablissement fixa la place ou il voulait batir sa maison—fit un plan du village qu'il nomma St. Louis en l'honneur de Louis 15—dont il croyait reste longtems sujet il ne s'imagine pas alors qu'il etait sujet du roi

[3] The date of the founding of St. Louis has been the subject of much discussion. As will be seen in the facsimile here given, Col. Chouteau wrote *fevrier*—February. By his, or some other hand, the word *mars* was written over the word *fevrier*. In his deposition before Recorder Hunt, Colonel Chouteau testified that, "On the tenth of February, A. D. 1764, Mr. Laclede sent Auguste Chouteau, this deponent, at the head of a party of mechanics of all trades, amounting to upwards of thirty in number to select a place suitable for an establishment such as he proposed. On the 15th of February, A. D. 1764, they landed at a place which they thought convenient for the purposes of the company and immediately proceeded to cut down trees, draw the lines of a town, and build the house where this deponent at present resides. Mr. Laclede on his arrival named the town Saint Louis, in honor of the King of France." 1 Hunt's Minutes, p. 107. Some persons have mistaken Colonel Chouteau's figure 5 for the figure 4 (see facsimile). But a comparison with other documents shows beyond question that the date here is fifteen. See further as to these questions, 1 Scharf's *History of St. Louis*, p. 66.

outils &c — et la navigation etant libre dans le premier jour de fevrier il
arme un bateau dans lequel il met 30 hommes presque tous ouvriers et il en donna
Les Conduite a Chouteau et lui dit « tu iras t'embarquer dans l'Entrepot comme avons —
planté des arbres — et tu Commenceras à faire du defrichement et bâtiras un grand
a regard pour loger les ouvriers et les outils + je te donne 2 hommes de Confiance qui pourront t'aider beaucoup
et des petites Cabanes pour loger les hommes + je te rejoindrai sous peu
jours je me rendis a la place désignée le 14 Mars dans la matinée le
L'Endemain je mis les hommes au travail — ils Commencerent le angaserd qui fut bâti
en peu de tems — et les petites Cabanes pour loger les hommes pour les [illegible]
environ dans les premiers jours de [illegible] Laclede arriva
par mer reçu — il s'occupa — de son Etablissement, vit La place ou il voulait

PART OF PAGE OF CHOUTEAU'S JOURNAL.

d'Espn; qu'il voullait etablir et m'ordonna de la suivre exatement—parce que lui ne pourrait pas rester plus longtems parmis nous—il etait obligé de se rendre au fort de chartres—pour retirer les marchandises qu'il avait dans ce fort quand l'arriva des Anglais que l'on attendait tous les jours pour en prendre possession. Je suivis donc de mon mieux son plan et mis tous mes soins a accelerer la Batisse de la maison—

pendant que nous etions tous bien occupés a ces travaux il arriva parmis nous— dans le mois de——toutes la nation des missouri, hommes femmes et enfans—et quoique ils ne paraitent pas avoir des mauvaises intentions a notre egard ils ne lessait pas de nous etre fort a charge—par leur demandes continuel de vivres—et les voles qu'ils faisaient de nos outils—en nous disant Continuellement qu'ils voulait faire un village au toure de la maison que nous voulions batir et qu'elle serait le Center—tous ces discours m'inquietés beaucoup—ce qui me fit prendre la resolution d'envoyer chercher Mr de Laclede—et ce qui m'y engagea encore a la faire il etait venu des Caos de habitant pour s'etablir dans ce nouveau village—qui s'en retournerent par crainte des missouris qui etaient environs 150-hommes guerriers, et nous nous n'etions que 30 a 35 hommes—mais je dirais toujours que cette nation ne paraissait pas avoir aucune idée ostile—Mr de Laclede arriva—et sitot son arriva les chefs des missouris vinrent le voir pour tenir un conseille resulta de le conseil estait qu'ils etaient digne de pitie qu'ils resemblai aux Canards et aux Outards qui cherchaient une Eau clair pour se reposer et se procurer avec facilité le vie—qu'ils ne trouvaient pas l'endroit plus propice a leur vie que l'endroit ou ils etaient—a cela ils diront bien des choses qui revenait toujours qu'ils desiraient de s'etablir ou ils etaient—Le Conseil fini Mr de Laclede les remis au lendemain pour leur faire sa reponse—le conseil s'assambla et apres des dis-

cours vague et preliminarie—Mr de Laclede leur dit avec la fermeté ordinaire—vous m'avez dit hier que vous resemblier aux Canards et aux outardes qui voyagaient jusqu'a ce qu'ils trouvaient un beau pays—dans le quel il y trouverait une belle Eau Clair pour s'y reposer—et se procurer une vie aisée—et que vous les missouris qui etaient digne des pitie vous leur ressemblez parce que vous voyagaient le meme qu'ils pour trouver un endroit pour vous y fixer et que vous n'en trouviez pas un plus propice une celui ou vous etiez actuellement—que vous vouliez faire un village au toure de ma maison ou nous viverions dans la plus grande amitée—je vous repondrai en peu de et je vous dirai que si vous suivaient la direction des Canards et des outardes pour vous fixer vous suivaient de mauvais guides—qui n'ont pas de prevoyance parce que s'ils en avaient ils ne se mettraient pas dans une Eau Claire—parce que les aigles et tous les oizeaux carnaciers les decouveraient facilement ce que n'arriverai pas s'ils etaient dans un endroit fourré—et couvert de Brossailles—Vous missouri, vous ne seriez pas manger par les aigles—mais des hommes—qui vous font la guerre depuis longtems—qui sont en grand nombre contre vous etes petit—ils turont vos guerriers parce qu'ils vouderont se defendre, renderont vos femmes et vos enfans Esclaves, voila ce qui vous arrivera pour vouloir suivre comme vous dite la marche —des Canards et des outardes—plutot—que les conseils des hommes qui savent bien déliberer—vous autres femmes—qui este ici presente et qui m'écoutées—aller —carresez bien aux enfans—donnez leur bien a manger ainsi qu'a vos vieux parens—serez les tous bien dans vos bras—donnez leur toutes les marques de la plus tendre amitée jusqu'au momant fatale qui vous separera d'eux et ce moment n'est pas bien eloigné si vos hommes persistent a vouloir s'etablir ici je vous previent en bon pere qu'il y a 6 a 7 cents guerriers au

fort de chartres qui sont la pour faire la guerre aux anglais ce qui les occupent beaucoup dans ce moment parce qu'ils portent toutes leur atention au bas du fort de chartres d'ou il attendent les anglais—mais s'ils apprennent que vous etes ici il n'y a pas de doute qu'ils viendereont vous defaire. Voyez presentement vous autres guerriers—s'il ne pas prudant que vous parties d'ici au plutot, que d'y rester pour vous y voir massacre—vos femmes et vos enfants déchirés par morceaux et leurs membres jette aux chiens—et aux oizeaux Carnatiers—rappellez vous que c'est un bon pere qui vous parle reflechichez bien sur ce qu'il vien de vous dire et rendez lui reponse le Soir—je ne puisse pas vous donner un terme plus long—parce qu'il faut que je me rendre au fort de chartres—

Le soir toutes la nation—hommes femmes et enfans vinrent trouver Mr de Laclede—et lui dire qu'ils avaient bien ouvert leurs oreilles a son discours et qu'ils suivraient en tous ses conseils qu'ils le priaient de vouloir avoir pitie des femmes et des enfans et leur donnent du vivres—et un peu de poudre et balles pour les hommes pour qu'ils puissent chassir en remontant le missouri et se defendre s'ils etaient attaqués—Mr de Laclede leur dit qu'il aurait pitie d'eux—et les remis au lendemain—il ne put pas leur rien donner ce jour la parce qu'il n'avait pas assez de mais qu'il fut obliger d'envoyer chercher aux Caos. Aussitot qu'il le recu il leur en donna une grande provision de la poudre, des Balles des couteaux et quelques autres merseries—et le jour suivant tous le village des missouris partir—pour monter le missouri et aller a leur ancien village—apres avoir rester ici 15 jours—dans les cours des quelles—j'ai fait creuser la cave de la maison que nous etions apres battire par les femmes et les enfants—je leur donné en payement du vermillion, des aleinis du verd de gris ils la creuserent en grande parti—ils

charroyaient la terre dans des plats du bois et des paniers qu'ils portaient sur la tete.

Mr de Laclede apres avoir donner les ordres qu'il croyait necessaire pour les travaux de son etablissement parti peu de jour aprés les Sauvages pour se rendre au fort de chartres—Les—personnes qui s'etaient sauvés aux Caos a la Rivé des Sauvages—Revinrent—sitot qu'ils surent qu'ils s'etaient retirai—et commencerent Leurs maisons ou pour mieux dire leurs Cabanes—et entererent leurs terrains—en se conforment aux lignes des Lots—qui j'avais tiré suivant le plan que m'avais lesser Mr. Laclede.

Mr Deneyon de Villiers qui commandé la haute Louisiane sous le nom des illinois eut ordres du governeur général de la province d'Evaquie toutes La rive gauche du mississipi—qui avait été Cedé aux anglais par le traité de Versaille—en Consequence de ces ordres—il fit retirer les garrisons du fort des pees—dans la Riviere des illinois, cette du fort marsiaque dans la Belle Riviere. Le poste vincennes dans le voibache ou Commandé Mr de St. Ange de Bellerive—et quoique le fort des Canses fut dans le missouri il fit descendre la petite garrison de ce poste—et meme un officier qu'il avait envoyé pour construire un fort dans la riviere des ozages prés du Village du cette nation—une fois qu'il eut reuni toutes ses troupes au fort de chartres il ordonna á Mr de St. Ange d'y rester avec 40 hommes 1 Captaine 2 Lieutenans pour livrer le fort aux anglais que l'on attendait tous les jours et lui se disposa á descendre le 10 juillet 1764 avec les restant de ses troupes tous les employers du gouvernment, et une grande partie des habitans des Villages du fort de chartres, et de la prairie du Rocher—a qu'il promis de leur faire donner des terres gratis prés de la N^lle^ orleans pour le sacrifice qu'ils faisaient de leurs biens—pour aller s'etablir dans la basse Louisianne sous le gouvernment francais plutot que de rester sous la dom-

ination anglaise qui etaient des héretiques &c—mais le vrai motif de Mr de neyon etait de mener avec lui une grande suite et descendre le mississipi en triomphe pour faire á croire au gouvernment qui tous les habitans suivaient par le pure estimé qu'ils avaient pour sa personne et par la s'attirer la confiance des autorities pour obtenir une place qu'il avait en vu-mais quand il su en arrivant a n[1] orleans que le pays était cedé a l'espagne ce la le desira de passer en Europe et il oublia toutes les promesses qu'il avait faits—a les pauvres incredules qui resterent sur la grave sans savoir ou donner de la tete et le gouvernement parce qu'il savant des que la colonie changait sous peu de Domination de sorte que ces infortunes qui avaient abandonné le peu de bien qu'ils avaient aux illinois pour aller vivre sous le governement francais se trouverent totalement disapointé dans leurs esperances—des uns pour pouvoir vivre avec leur familles gagnerent les appelousas, les autres les axtitapas ou ils ne purent cependant pas y porter accuse du frais le material de ce qu'ils avaient descendu et ils furent obligés—de les donner pour presque rien et cela pour se procurer un peu de mais et de riz—ceux qui avait quelques moyens remonter aux illinois furent bien heureux s'y trouver. Mr de Laclede qui les assista dans bien de choses—et leur observant que s'ils avaient voulus suivre ses conseils comme ont fait ceux qui n'avaient pas voulu suivre leurs mauvaises destines ils ne seraient pas dans les mauvais situation ou ils etaient—Mr de Laclede penetrant les motifs qui faisaient agir Mr de Neyon ce qui lui fit faire par humanité tous soins possible sans aune vu d'enteret que pour les empecher de descendre en leur disant que le gouvernement anglais n'etait pas si terrible que l'on voulait bien dire—que pour lui il en avait une idée bien plus aventageuse—que cependant si par une suite de faut prejuges—il ne voulaient pas rester sous ce gouvernement il les engagait a monte

dans son nouvel etablissm[t] qu'il leur faciliterai le moyen d'y se rendre avec leur effets. et que leurs animaux il etait bien facile de les conduire par terre puisque le trajet n'etait que de 19 lieues—par un beau chemin—plusieurs familles accepterent ces offres il leur procura de suite de voiture avec les agrés necessaire pour se rendre a St. Louis—et lá il les facilita dans leur etablissm[t] m'ordonna le leur assigner des terrains suivant le plan qu'il avait fait, ce que je fits le plus ponctuellement possible—Comme j'ai deja observé que sitot le depart de la nation missouri les habitans qui s'etaient retirer aux Caos—Revinrent—ce petit nombre—avec ceux du fort de chartres commencerent a donner une petite conssistance a St. Louis.

A joseph Tayon	Beaugenoux	J[ph] Labrosse
Roger Tayon	Cotté	" Labrosse
Dechene	Pichet	Louis chancellier
Beauchamps	hervieux	Chancellier
Morcerau	Bacune	gamache
joseph Bequet	francoise Delin	Ride
Andre Bequet	La Garosse	Roi
gabriel dodier	Kierseraux	Layoie mercer
B[te] Marligné	gregoire Kierceraux	La grain
Lemoine Marligné	alexis Picard	
	antoine Pothier	

Aprés le depart de Mr de neyon qui fut le 10 juillet 1764 et l'emigration des habitans pour St. Louis—le Village du fort de chartres resta totalement desert—excepter la garrison du fort et quelques employers du governement—qui restaient aussi tous dans le fort—parce que dans le village une partie des maisons furent demolie par les proprietaires qui prirent les planches—les ouvertures et enfin tous ce qu'ils purent transporter—dans les places ou ils crurent pouvoir s'etablirent. Dans le courant de l'hiver de 1764 á 1765 les Sauvages au nord de ce pays surent que les anglais fisaient un armement a la n[lle] orleans—pour prendre possession du pays illinois—Ces Sauvages voulant y opposer se

renderent au fort de chartres au nombre de 400 hommes ayant a leur tete le fameux Pondiac de la nation outarrois qui avait un pouvoir absolue sur sur tous ces trubus et cela pour les avoir commander dans beaucoup de prise de fort occupé par les anglais—a qui il fesant une guerre cruele depuis le paix de 1762—il disait qu'il faisait cette guerre pour vanger les francais—mais le Vrai de la chose etais par l'esprit du pillage—et de Brigandage—a son arrivé au prés du fort de chartres il fit camper son monde a une bien petite distence—et obligea les les nations peorias et mecchiquamice qui avaient leur village a une lieue du fort—a prendre les armes avec eux si le cas le requerai.—les illinois ne parraissaient pas bien disposez a vouloir le faire il leur dit si vous ézité un moment je vous détruirait comme le feu qui passe dans une prairie ouvrez bien vos oreilles et rappellez vous que c'est pondiaque qui vous parle—des ce moment des illinois parurent—etre de la cotisation—je crois parce qu'ils ne pouvaient par faire autrement. aprés divers despotions pondiac fut voir Mr de St Ange et mena avec lui les braves de son parte—il lui dit en le voyant—Mon pere—il y a Longtemps que je desir moi et mes guerriers de te donner la main—et de fumer en semble dans notre calumet de paix en nous rapellons toutes les campagnes que nous avons fait en semble de se rassemblement et de leur projets serré contre les sauvages et ces chiens d'anglais.

Mr de St Ange de Bellerive etait Canadien un ancien officier qui avait fait le guerre sa plus tendre jeunesse —Contre les Sauvages dans la quelle il S'Etait attirer beaucoup de considerations sur tout aprés l'attaque et la défaite de l'arme qui avait été au que chiquachats —ou il etait sous les ordres de Mr Prudomme. Mr Prudaumme etait un brave officier qui avait fait la guerre en Europe. Il voulut suivre le meme tatique en la ferant aux Sauvages. Mr de Bellerive lui fit les

observations sur la maniere de faire cet guerre ces representation parurent offenser Mr Prudomme et il voulut toujours suivre ses principes Europeanne á l'attaque du fort des chiquaches—qui etait dans une grande prairie—entouré de fort pieux et bien terrassé et dans le quel il y avait environ 800 guerriers bien armée et generalm[t] bon tireurs de carabine—ce dont ils etaient parfaitment instruit par des prisonniers francais que les chiquachats avaient fait et qui s'etaient céhapés—malgre ces information de la situation de ce fort Mr Prudaume voulu le prendre d'asseaux—en consequence il deposa ses troupes et en ordonna l'attaque. Mr Bellerive lui observa sur l'heure que vu la situation de ce fort il regardait comme impossible de la prendre de vive force qu'il vollait mieux attendre l'alterie qui avaient a leur camp de Reserve qui etait sur le mississipi et quand en attendant son arrivé il pourraient investire le fort et que par ce moyens—ils s'assuraient une réussite complete—et qu'autrement on courait risque d'une defaite dessastreuse. des officiers Canadien que etaient venu du Canadat avec Mr Bellerive pour se joindre a Mr Prudaume avec un detachement de Blanc et de Sauvages—aprouverent le plan de Mr Bellerive—et les officiers de france qui etaient montés de la nouvelle orleans—avec Mr Prudaume etaient de son sentement.—aprés bien des paroles d'une part et d'autre—Mr Prudaume s'addressant a Mr de Bellerive et lui dit d'un air fier et hautin—*Monsieur quand on a peur du Loup on ne va pas au Bois.* Mr. Bellerive lui dit—ce n'est pas dans ce moment que je Doit vous repond je vous direz seulement que je ne crains pas les Balles pas meme les Balles—mais bien de passer pour un ignorant dans l'attaque d'un fort et que nous sacrifions 2000 hommes que sont sous nos ordres sans espoire d'en rechaper une faible partie sans aune Esperance l'armée qui est sous nos ordres—et il

en serait du—Contraire Si nous attendions notre artillerie—vous voulez absolument attaquer et prendre sans altererie ce fort—et bien *marchons*—les chefs sauvages qui etaient present au départ des 2 chefs quand ils virent Mr Bellerive marché sur le fort coururaient a lui le prirent par les mains et Lui dirent Bellerive arrette lá ou va—tu—tu ne voit pas qu'il est impossible de prendre ce fort sans canon—et que si vous persister á vouloir le faire vous serez tous tué et il s'en suivera que votre armée sera totalement massacrée—Crois nous—renonce á cet attaque rappelle tes gens que tu a amené du Canada—laisse faire ce fou de chef—qui va se faire tuer et ceux qui le suiverons tu dit il est un brave—il faut que tu le suivre et tu ne le fesait pas tu passerez pour un Lache—non Bellerive tu ne passera jamais pour tel qui—est que ne connait pas—toutes les campagnes qui tu a faits et dans les quelles tu a toujours reussie—qui ne se rapelle pas que c'est toi qui a reduit Les nations Sacs et renards—toutes ces campagnes t'on acquit l'estime et la confiance des blanc et des Peaux Rouges ils to regarderons toujours pour un Brave—ains: Crois nous—Reste et dispose de tous ceux qui sont venu avec toi du Canada—de maniere a sauver ceux—qui ne serons pas tués á la taque de ce fort—Mr Bellerive leur donna La main en leur disant. j'Espere mes freres que vous agirez dans l'affaire qui va se passe comme de Veritable braves—et comme vous avez toujours fait—Voila le chef qui marche il faut que je le suivre—*a Dieu.* il rejoinir Mr. Prudaume—le lui dit on l'accostant Mr—Voila le momant qui va descider le quel de nous d'eux eu tord sa ne Sera assurement ni vous ne moi qui pourrons decider la question mais eux qui nous surviverons—rappellez-vous si vous avez des ordres a donner Si je ne suis pas devant vous je serai accoté—ils approcherent avec fermité le fort et toutes la petite armée en fire autant a l'exxample de leurs

chefs qui avoir donna l'ordre d'abattre les pieux a coup de haches—mais quand ils furent a une demie partie de fusil ils recurent une decharge des assiegés qui tuerent les 2 chefs—beaucoup d'officiers—et un grand nombre de soldats—a la Segond decharge ils tuerent encore beaucoup de monde a La 3me Decharge qui fut la plus murtriere les assiegers se retirerent en desordre sans avoir pu blesser un seul homme et comment l'auraient il fait ils se battaient contre de forts pieux et une terrasse—Les assiegés s'appercevant de la deroute des assiegés—ils furent une sortie dans la qu'elle ils massacraient tous eux qu'ils pourvaient attraper—ou les pour suivrant avec une rage qui n'est connues que des barbara—heureusement la nuit vient ce qui mit a méme plusieur d'Echaper et de ganier le Camps de Reserve—Sitot Le jour venu—les sauvages —donnerent encore sur le chemain des fuyanes ils avaient des chiens qui decouvraint dans les Broussailles des Blessés—aussitot decouvers ils etaient coupés par morceaux—toutes cette journées se passa a les chercher —et a rejoindre eux—qui s'etaient ecorté du chemin— il perit dans la taque du fort—et dans la deroute 900 hommes Blancs—Les Sauvages—se retirerent des le commencement et gagnerent Le Camp de Reserve—ou ils dirent qu'il n'y avait pas de doutes que l'armée serait defaite—Sur cette nouvelle l'officier qui commandait doubla—Ses gardes et envoya sur le chemin un detachement—a La decouvert—ce detachement recontra plusieur officiers et soldats dont une grando partie etait Blessée ils confirmaient la destruction de L'armee —en modissant dans les termes les plus—Expressifs la conduite de Mr Prudaume et de son entetement a ne pas vouloir Suivre La Sages Conseils de Mr Bellerive qui—se fit tué pour un point d'honneur mal plassé dans une pareil circomstanse Le commandant du Camp Envoyait pendant 4 jours de forts detachement sur le che-

min a la Rencontre de ceux qui s'etaient echapés du massacre—aubout de ce temps ne voyant plus personnes et craignant lui meme d'etre attaqué il fit embarquer toutes l'artilleries et Les autres objets—qui y etaient—les troupes regles descendirent a La nouvelle orleans avec le materrielle de l'armee—et les milices s'acheminer avec le sauvages du Coté du Canada d'ou ils etaient partie—et il ne restat rien dans ce Campe—qui porte encore aujourd'hui le nom d'ecore a Prudaume——

Je reprends mon journal que j'ai arreté—jusqu'a present—et cela pour faire connaitre—quelles aitaiens les raisons pour quoi les sauvages avaient autant de respect pour Mr de Ange de Belle Rive frere de celus qui a été tué aux chiquachas et que lui meme avait souvant été en guerre avec ces memes sauvages et dans les quelles il s'etait attiré leurs confiances par sa Bravoure.

FRAGMENT OF COL. AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU'S NARRATIVE OF THE SETTLEMENT OF ST. LOUIS.

A Literal Translation from the Original French Ms., in Possession of the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association.

JOURNAL.

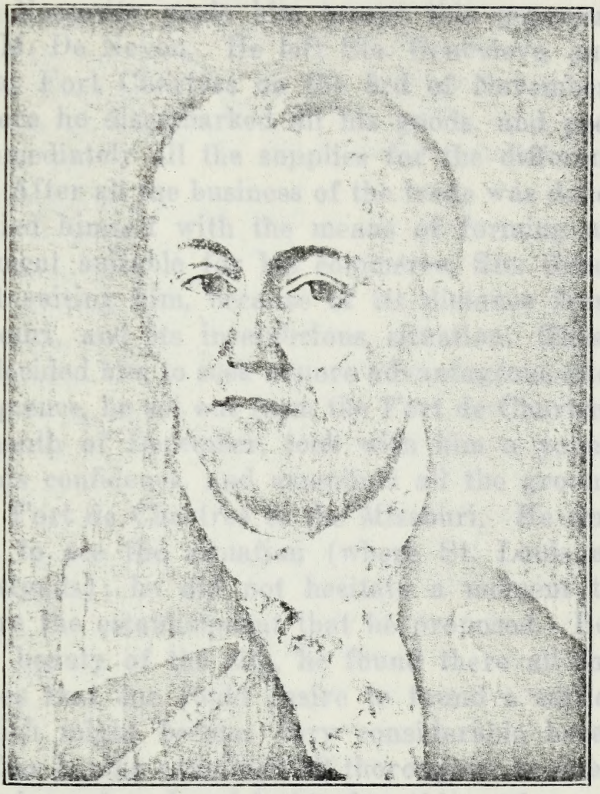
In the year 1762, M. D'Abadie, at that time Director General and Commandant of Louisiana, granted to a Company the exclusive trade with the savages of the Missouri, and all the nations residing west of the

Mississippi, for the term of eight years.[4] This company was formed under the name of M. Laclede Ligueste, Antoine Moxan and Company. Immediately after the terms and conditions were signed with the French Government, they took measures to import from Europe all the merchandise necessary to sustain, on a large scale, their commerce, which they proposed to extend as much as possible. While waiting for the arrival of the goods which they had ordered in Europe, they formed a considerable armament, at the head of which was placed M. Laclede Ligueste, known as a man of great merit, capable, from his experience, of conducting with skill and prudence, the interests of the company. He left New Orleans the 3rd of August, 1763, and arrived in Illinois the 3rd November following.

Observe, that all the establishments which the French had on the left bank of the Mississippi, were ceded to the English by the treaty of 1762, and that upon the right bank, which remained to the French, there was only the small village of Ste. Genevieve, in which M. de Laclede could not find a house capable of containing one-fourth of his merchandise. M. De

[4] The Missouri Historical Society has made diligent efforts to find a copy of the grant made by d'Abbadie to Maxent, Laclede & Co., but so far without success. By the kindness of Waldo G. Leland, Esq., the Society has acquired a copy of the order of the King to d'Abbadie relating to trade, and of the correspondence relating to the grant. D'Abbadie, in making the grant, acted in direct opposition to the King's order, and the grant was disapproved; the Minister declaring that "All exclusive privilege is in derogation of the laws of commerce and destructive of liberty; that the right to accord such privilege is reserved to his Majesty alone, when circumstances demand it." It appears from these papers that there were five or six persons in the Company, but their names have not been learned.

And see Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Francaise*, pp. 180, 217-8. D'Abbadie arrived in Louisiana 23 June, 1763, and the grant must have been made after that time.



Aug. Chouteau

Neyon, Commandant of Fort de Chartres, learning the embarrassment of M. de Laclede, sent an officer to him, to tell him that he could offer him a place for his goods, until the English should come to take possession. Necessity made him accept this generous offer of M. De Neyon. He left Ste. Genevieve, and arrived at Fort Chartres on the 3rd of November, 1763, where he disembarked all his goods, and prepared immediately all the supplies for the different nations. After all the business of the trade was done, he occupied himself with the means of forming an establishment suitable for his commerce, Ste. Genevieve not suiting him, because of its distance from the Missouri, and its insalubrious situation. These reasons decided him to seek a more advantageous site. In consequence, he set out from the Fort de Chartres in the month of December, took with him a young man in his confidence, and examined all the ground from the Fort de Chartres to the Missouri. He was delighted to see the situation (where St. Louis at present stands); he did not hesitate a moment to form there the establishment that he proposed. Besides the beauty of the site, he found there all the advantages that one could desire to found a settlement which might become very considerable hereafter. After having examined all thoroughly, he fixed upon the place where he wished to form his settlement, marked with his own hand some trees,[5] and said to Chouteau, "You will come here as soon as navigation opens, and will cause this place to be cleared, in order to form our settlement after the plan that I shall give you." We set out immediately afterwards,

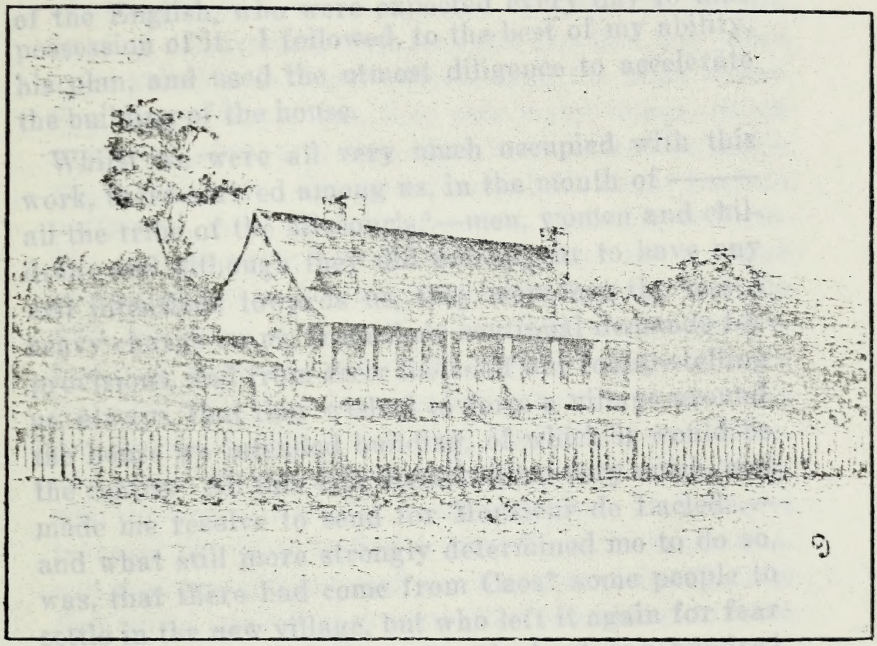
[5] It is said that the site of the original village was covered with a beautiful grove of walnut trees, without underbrush and with a fine blue grass turf.

to return to Fort de Chartres, where he said, with enthusiasm, to Monsieur De Neyon, and to his officers, that he had found a situation where he was going to form a settlement, which might become, hereafter, one of the finest cities of America—so many advantages were embraced in this site, by its locality and its central position ,for forming settlements. He was occupied the rest of the winter in procuring all things necessary for the settlement—men, provisions, tools, etc.

Navigation being open in the early part of February, he fitted out a boat, in which he put thirty men, —nearly all mechanics,—and he gave the charge of it to Chouteau, and said to him: "You will proceed and land at the place where we marked the trees; you will commence to have the place cleared, and build a large shed to contain the provisions and the tools, and some small cabins, to lodge the men. I give you two men on whom you can depend, who will aid you very much; and I will rejoin you before long." I arrived at the place designated on the 14th of March,[5a] and, on the morning of the next day, I put the men to work. They commenced the shed, which was built in a short time, and the little cabins for the men were built in the vicinity. In the early part of April, Laclede arrived among us. He occupied himself with his settlement, fixed the place where he wished to build his house,[6] laid a plan of the village which he wished to found, (and he named it Saint Louis, in honor of Louis XV.

[5a] This should be 15 February, see page 338, ante.

[6] Laclede's house was built on the north side of the *rue* Royal, on the site now partly occupied by the house numbered 19 and 21 South Main street. It belonged later to Col. Chouteau, who rebuilt and enlarged it, after which it, with its beautiful garden, was for many years the show place of the town. It was destroyed in October, 1841, to make room for a block of business buildings which Madame Auguste Chouteau caused to be erected on the site.



LACLEDE HOUSE.

The small extension on the left is the calaboose which was built after the house was let to the Spanish Government.

whose subject he expected to remain, for a long time; —he never imagined he was a subject of the King of Spain;) and ordered me to follow the plan exactly, because he could not remain any longer with us. He was obliged to proceed to Fort de Chartres, to remove the goods that he had in the fort, before the arrival of the English, who were expected every day to take possession of it. I followed, to the best of my ability, his plan, and used the utmost diligence to accelerate the building of the house.

Whilst we were all very much occupied with this work, there arrived among us, in the month of ——— all the tribe of the Missouris,[1]—men, women and children; and although they did not appear to have any evil intentions towards us, they were not the less a heavy charge on us, from their continual demands for provisions, and from their thefts of our tools,—telling us, always, that they wished to form a village around the house we intended building, of which it would be the centre. All this talk disturbed me very much, and made me resolve to send for Monsieur de Laclede,— and what still more strongly determined me to do so, was, that there had come from Caos* some people to settle in the new village, but who left it again for fear of the Missouris, who numbered about one hundred and fifty warriors, while we were only thirty or thirty-

[1] The Missouri Indians lived at one time near the mouth of the Missouri River. Later they were established in a village on the north side of the river in the neighborhood of the present town of Brunswick. There they were attacked by the Sacs and Foxes, about the year 1700, and after a disastrous battle in which many were killed, they were obliged to retire to the south side of the river where they built their village in the neighborhood of the present town of Miami. That continued to be their principal abiding place until the latter part of the eighteenth century when they joined their kindred, the Otoes, on the Platte River.

* Cahokia.

five. But I should say that this tribe never appeared to have any hostile intentions whatever. Monsieur de Laclede arrived, and immediately the Chief of the Missouris came to see him, in order to hold a council. The result of the council was that they were worthy of pity; that they were like the ducks and the bustards, who sought open water in order to rest, and procure an easy subsistence; that they did not find any place more suitable, in their opinion, than the place where they were. Upon that, they said many things, which amounted always to this, that they desired to settle where they were. The council ended, Monsieur Laclede postponed, until the following day, his reply to them. The council again assembled, and, after much vague preliminary talk, Monsieur de Laclede spoke to them with his usual firmness: "You told me, yesterday, that you were like the ducks and the bustards, who traveled until they found a fine country, where there was beautiful open water, that they might rest there, and obtain an easy living; and that you, the Missouris, who were worthy of pity, resembled them, because you traveled like them to find a place to settle yourselves, and that you did not find any one more suitable than that where you are at present; that you wished to form a village around my house, where we should live together in the greatest friendship. I will reply to you in a few words, and I will say, that if you followed the example of the ducks and bustards in settling yourselves, you followed bad guides, who have no foresight; because if they had any, they would not put themselves into open water, so that the eagles and birds of prey could discover them easily, which would never happen to them if they were in a woody place, and covered with brush. You Missouris, you will not be eaten by eagles; but these men who have waged war against you for a long time past, who are in great numbers against you, who are few, will kill your war-

riors, because they will offer resistance, and will make your women and children slaves. Behold what will happen to you, for wishing to follow, as you say, the course of the ducks and bustards, rather than the advice of men of experience. You women, who are here present, and who listen to me, go, tenderly caress your children—give them food in plenty; also, to your aged parents,—press them closely in your arms,—lavish upon them all the evidences of the tenderest affection, until the fatal moment which shall separate you from them—and that moment is not far distant, if your men persist in their intention to settle here. I warn you, as a good Father, that there are six or seven hundred warriors at Fort de Chartres, who are there to make war against the English,—which occupies them fully at this moment, for they turn all their attention below Fort Chartres, from whence they expect the English,—but if they learn you are here, beyond the least doubt, they will come to destroy you. See now, warriors, if it be not prudent on your part to leave here at once, rather than to remain to be massacred, your wives and children torn to pieces, and their limbs thrown to dogs and to birds of prey. Recollect, I speak to you as a good Father; reflect well upon what I have just told you, and give me your answer this evening. I cannot give you any longer time, for I must return to Fort de Chartres."

In the evening, the whole nation, men, women and children, came to Monsieur de Laclede, and told him that they had opened their ears wide to his discourse, and that they would follow, in all things, his advice: and they prayed him to have pity upon the women and children, and give them provisions, and a little powder and some balls for the men, that they might hunt while going up the Missouri, and defend themselves, if they were attacked. Monsieur de Laclede told them that he would have pity on them, and detained them till the

next day. He could not give them anything that day, for he had not enough corn, which he was obliged to send to Caos for. As soon as he had received it, he gave them a large quantity,—some powder, balls and knives, and some cloth; and the day after, all the Missouris went away, to go up the Missouri and return to their ancient village,—having remained here fifteen days, in the course of which I had the cellar of the house, which we were to build, dug by the women and children. I gave them, in payment, vermillion, awls and verdigris. They dug the largest part of it, and carried the earth in wooden platters and baskets, which they bore upon their heads.

Monsieur de Laclede, after giving the orders which he thought necessary, for the works of a settlement, left, a few days after the savages, for Fort de Chartres. Those persons who had fled to Caos on the coming of the savages, returned as soon as they knew that they had gone away, and commenced building their houses, or, to speak more correctly, their cabins, and entered their lands, agreeable to the lines of the lots which I had drawn, following the plan which Monsieur de Laclede had left with me.

Monsieur de Neyon de Villiers,[8] who governed Upper

[8] The Chevalier Pierre Joseph de Neyon de Villiers was born in Lorraine of a family more noble than rich.

He entered the army, and in 1735 was ensign in the regiment of Choiseul; in 1742 he was lieutenant in the regiment of Marainville; in 1774 he was *aide-major* in the Royal Lorraine regiment, and was wounded at Wissembourg; in 1747, he was captain and took part in the battle of Landfelt. He came to Louisiana in 1749, as an officer in the troops, and from 1755 to 1764 was major-commandant at Fort Chartres in Illinois. In 1759 he was invested with the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis. He left Fort Chartres 15 June, 1764, and arrived at New Orleans 2 July. He took with him six officers, sixty-three soldiers and eighty of the people, men, women and children. (2 Gayarré *Histoire de la Louisiane*, p. 126.) He returned

Louisiana, under the name of Illinois, had orders from the Governor-General of the province, to evacuate the whole left bank of the Mississippi, which had been ceded to the English by the treaty of Versailles. In consequence of these orders, he caused to be withdrawn the garrisons of Fort des Pees,[9] upon the Illinois River, that of Fort Marsiaque, on the Belle Riviere; the post of Vincennes, upon the Wabash, where commanded Monsieur de St. Ange de Bellerive;[10] and, although the

to France in 1765 and remained there until 1773, in which year he was made Colonel of the regiment of Guadeloupe, and in the same year he was promoted to be Brigadier General. In the year 1775 he was governor of *Marie-Galant*. He became quite ill in 1779, and his physicians urging his return to France, he embarked but his ship was captured by the English and he died at sea.

It was said of him that he was fitter to govern a colony than to command a regiment. Instead of accumulating riches in his government of the Illinois, as was charged against some of the governors there, he returned to France in 1765 with a much diminished fortune. Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Annés de la Louisiane Française*, p. 190, note.

Du Terrage attributes Chouteau's criticisms of Neyon to his disappointment at seeing his own work compromised by the departure of the Illinois colonists.

Neyon de Villiers was in no way connected with the famous Canadian family of Coulon de Villiers, which furnished so many notable men to American history.

[9] By the Fort des Pees is meant the fort among the Peorias; Marsiaque is now known as Massac. Causes is a misprint for Canses—Kansas.

[10] This was Louis St. Ange de Bellerive. He was a son of Robert Groston de St. Ange and Marguerite Crevier, and was born in Canada 20 February, 1702. He came to the Illinois about 1722, and went up the Missouri the next year. In 1736, the year of the expedition against the Chickasaws mentioned by Col. Chouteau, he was in command of a fort on the Missouri, somewhere in the neighborhood of the mouth of the Kaw. After the surrender of the Illinois country on the East of the Mississippi to the British, he removed the seat of government to St. Louis, in what was then called the Western part of the Illinois, and continued the French rule until the arrival of the Spanish governor Piernas in 1770. He died in St. Louis 26 De-

Fort des Causes was in Missouri, he brought down the little garrison of this post,—and even an officer whom he has sent to build a fort on the Osage River, near a village of the tribe of the same name. As soon as he had collected all the troops at Fort de Chartres, he ordered Monsieur de St. Ange to remain there with forty men, one captain and two lieutenants,[11] to deliver up the fort to the English, who were expected every day, and he himself prepared to go down the river on the 10th of July, 1764, with the remainder of his troops, and all the employees of the government, and a large part of the inhabitants of the villages of Fort de Chartres and Prairie du Rocher, for whom he promised to obtain free grants of land, near New Orleans, for the sacrifices they were making of their property, in order to go and settle in Lower Louisiana, under the French government, rather than to remain under the dominion of the English, who were heretics, &c. But the real motive of Monsieur de Neyon was, to take with him a numerous train, and to descend the Mississippi in triumph, to make the government believe that all these people followed him for the great esteem which they had for his person; thereby to gain the confidence of the authorities, in order to obtain a place that he had in view. But when he learned on arriving at New Orleans, that the country was ceded to Spain, he determined to return to Europe. He forgot all the promises

cember, 1774. The St. Ange who went on the expedition against the Chickasaws was Pierre de St. Ange, an elder brother of the governor. For an account of the several members of the St. Ange family in Missouri and Illinois see *Publication Number Fourteen of the Illinois State Historical Library*, p. 135.

[11] The captain who remained with St. Ange at Fort Chartres was Pierre Francois d'Haute-mer de Volsay; the lieutenants were Louis Picoté de Belestre and Pierre de Berqueville. All of them accompanied St. Ange to St. Louis.

that he had made to these poor, credulous people, who remained upon the strand without knowing where to lay their heads, and the government troubled themselves but little about them, because they knew that the colony would soon change masters. So that these unfortunate people, who had abandoned the little property which they possessed in Illinois, to go and live under the French government, found themselves completely disappointed in their hopes. Some of them, in order to live, went with their families to Opelousas, others to Atakapas, where, however, they could not carry, on account of the want of facilities for transportation, the materials which they had brought down with them; and they were obliged to give them for almost nothing, in order to procure a little maize and rice. Those who, having some means, returned to Illinois, were very happy to find there Monsieur de Laclede, who aided them in a great many ways, and observed to them, that if they had been willing to follow his advice, as others had done, who had not wished to follow their evil destiny, they would not now be in the unpleasant situation in which they found themselves.

Monsieur de Laclede, penetrating the motives which actuated Monsieur de Neyon, did all in his power to hinder them from going down, which he did without any interested view, but through humanity, telling them that the English government was not so terrible as they wished to make them believe; that, for his part, he had a much more favorable opinion of it. However, if, in consequence of false prejudice, they did not wish to remain under this government, he would recommend them to go up to his new settlement, and he would facilitate for them the means of getting there with their effects; and, as for their animals, it was very easy to conduct them by land, since the jour-

ney was only nineteen leagues by a good road. Several families accepted these offers, and obtained immediately the wagons and the necessary harness to proceed to St. Louis, and there he aided them in settling, and ordered me to assign them lands, according to the plan that he had made, which I did as exactly as possible. As I have already observed, that immediately upon the departure of the tribe of the Missouris, the inhabitants* who had fled to Caos had returned, and, with those of Fort de Chartres, commenced to give some permanence to St. Louis.[12]

After the departure of Monsieur de Neyon, which took place the 10th of July, 1764,[13] and the emigration

* A. Joseph Tayon, Roger Tayon, Dechene, Beauchamps, Morcerau Joseph Bequet, Andre Bequet, Gabriel Dodier, Baptiste Marligne, Lemoine Marligne, Beaugenou, Cotte, Pichet, Hervieux, Bacune, Francois Delin, La Garosse, Kierseraux, Gregoire Kierceraux, Alexis Picard, Antoine Pothier, Th. Labrosse, Labrosse, Louis Chancellier, Chancellier, Gamache, Ride, Roi, Layoie, Le Grain.

[12] From the use of the asterisk in the translation, it would appear that the persons named in this list are those who fled to Cahokia from fear of the Indians. There is no asterisk in the original, and the list is intended to be the muster roll of the thirty (in a deposition given 18 April, 1825, Col. Chouteau said *upwards of thirty*) men who came with Chouteau from Fort Chartres. Indians were not novelties to these people, and it is likely that those who went to Cahokia were those who had homes there.

The errors in the list seem to be the mistakes of a copyist, and would indicate that Col. Chouteau had transcribed it from some previously written document. *Beauchamps* was probably intended for Deschamps. *Marcereau* should be Marcheteau *dit* Desnoyers. The Becquets were both named Jean Baptiste. *Marligné* should be Martigny. The Martignys were near kinsmen of Iberville and Bienville. *Bacuné* should be Bacanné *dit* Riviere. *Layoie* was Jean Sallé *dit* Lajoie. Most of the men named in the list became respected citizens of St. Louis, and many have descendants now living in the City. Nearly all were Canadians who had lived in the villages about Fort Chartres. For further information concerning them see Billon's Annals, 1764-1804, and Collet's Index to the St. Louis Archives.

[13] D'Abbadie says in his Journal under date 2 July, 1764, "M. de Neyon arrived from the Illinois where he evacuated the post the 15th of June, leaving there forty men and delivering up the command

of its inhabitants to St. Louis, the village of Fort de Chartres remained totally deserted, except the garrison of the fort, and some government employees, who also lived in the fort, because in the village, a part of the houses had been demolished by the owners, who took the boards, the windows and door frames, and everything else they could transport, to the places where they intended to settle. In the course of the winter of 1764-5, the savages of the north of this country knew that the English were fitting out an expedition at New Orleans, to take possession of the Illinois country. These savages, desiring to oppose this, set out for Fort de Chartres, to the number of four hundred men, having at their head the famous Pontiac, of the Ottawa nation, who had absolute authority over these tribes, because he had commanded them in the capture of many forts occupied by the English, against whom he waged a cruel war, since the peace of 1762. He said that he fought to avenge the French; but in truth, it was through a disposition for robbery and plunder. Upon his arrival near Fort de Chartres, he encamped his people at a short distance, and obliged the Peorias and Mecchiquamici (who had their village a league from the fort,) to take up arms with them, if the case should require it. The Illinois not appearing very well disposed to do so, he said to them: "If you hesitate one moment, I will destroy you, like the fire which passes through a prairie; open wide your ears, and remember it is Pontiac who speaks." From this moment, the Illinois appeared to make part of the coalition,—I believe, because they could not do otherwise. After various arrangements Pontiac went to

to M. de St. Ange. The convoy which descended the river was composed of 21 *bateaux* and 7 *pirogues* in which were seven officers, sixty-three soldiers and some inhabitants who wished to re-establish themselves in the French possessions.

Villiers du Terrage, *Dernières Années*, p. 190.

see Monsieur de St. Ange, and took with him the braves of his party. On seeing him he said: "My father, for a long time I and my warriors have determined to give you our hand, and to smoke together our pipe of peace,—recalling to each other all the campaigns that we have made together against the savages, and those dogs of English."

M. de St. Ange de Bellerive was a Canadian, and an old officer, who had served from his tenderest youth against the savages, whereby he had gained much reputation, especially after the defeat of the army at Chiquachas,[14] where he was present under the command of M. Prudomme. M. Prudomme was a brave officer, who had fought in Europe, and wished to follow the same tactics in fighting the savages. M. de Bellerive having made some observations to him, upon the manner of conducting this war, these representations

[14] Col. Chouteau tells an entirely different story of the expedition of 1736 against the Chickasaws from that given in the official reports.

Bienville, the Governor of Louisiana, ordered Pierre d'Artaguette, who was in command at the Illinois, to lead his troops and such Indians as he could bring with him to the neighborhood of the Chickasaw towns, which were in Lee County, Mississippi, where Bienville would join him with troops from the lower country, and a concerted attack would be made.

D'Artaguette went accompanied by Pierre de St. Ange, as his second in command, Vincennes, a number of young officers, forty-one regular soldiers and ninety-nine militiamen. In addition there were thirty-eight Iroquois, thirty-eight Arkansas and about two hundred Illinois and Miamis. They set out from Fort Chartres 20 February, 1736.

Bienville was detained, and so advised d'Artaguette, but it was too late. He was in a position where he must either attack or be attacked. He chose the aggressive. The Illinois and Miami Indians ran away early in the action, and the others were overwhelmed by numbers. Many were killed, and most of the officers who were not killed outright were made prisoners. D'Artaguette, St. Ange, Vincennes, Father Senat, a Jesuit, who refused to escape and leave his friends, and a number of other officers and men were burned by their captors at a slow fire. There was no man by the name of Prud'homme in the party.

appeared to offend M. Prudomme, and he determined to follow his European principles in the attack of the fort of the Chiquachas, which was in a large prairie, surrounded by strong stakes and well embanked, and in which there were about eight hundred warriors, well armed, and generally good shots with the rifle. They were well informed of this fact, by some French prisoners whom the Chiquachas had taken, and who had escaped. In spite of this knowledge of the situation of this fort M. Prudomme wished to take it by assault; and, in consequence, placed his troops, and ordered the attack. M. Bellerive said to him, at that time, that, considering the situation of the fort, he looked upon the taking it by main force as impossible; that it would be better to await the arrival of the artillery, which was in the reserve camp on the Mississippi; and that, while awaiting its arrival, they could invest the fort, and, by this means, be assured of complete success; that, otherwise, they ran the risk of a disastrous defeat. The Canadian officers who had come from Canada with M. Bellerive, and had joined M. Prudomme with a detachment of white and savages, approved the plan of M. Bellerive, while the officers from France, who had come up from New Orleans with M. Prudomme, were of his opinion. After many words on one side and the other M. Prudomme addressed M. de Bellerive, and said to him, with a proud and haughty air: "Monsieur, when we are afraid of the wolf, we don't go in the woods." M. Bellerive said to him: "This is not the time to answer you. I will only say that I have no fear of bullets, but rather of being thought ignorant of the method of attacking a fort; and of losing two thousand men who are under our command, without the hope of saving a feeble remnant. The contrary would happen if we waited for our artillery. You are determined to attack and take the fort without artillery.

Very well! Let us march!!" When the Indian chiefs, who were present at the departure of the two leaders, saw M. Bellerive marching upon the fort, they ran to him, took him by the hand, and said: "Bellerive, stop; where are you going? Do you not see that it is impossible to take the fort without cannon, and that if you persist in trying to take it you will be killed, and, afterwards, your army will be totally massacred? Believe us, give up this assault, recall your men that you led from Canada, and let alone this mad chief who will be killed with all who follow him. You say that he is a brave, and that you must follow him; that if you do not do so, you would be branded as a coward. No, Bellerive, you will never pass for such. Who is it that does not know you, all the campaigns that you have made, and in which you have been always successful? Who does not recollect that it was you who reduced the Sac and Fox nations? All these campaigns have gained you the esteem of the whites and the red men; they will always regard you as a brave; so believe us. Remain, and dispose of all those who came with you from Canada, in such a way as to save those who will not be killed in the attack upon the fort." M. Bellerive gave them his hand, and said. "I hope, my brothers, that you will act in the affair which is about to take place, like true braves, as you have always done. See, the chief is advancing; I must follow him; farewell." He rejoined M. Prudomme, and said to him: "Now is the moment that will decide which of us was wrong; assuredly, it will be neither you nor I who will be able to decide the question, but those who will survive us. Recollect, if you have any orders to give, if I am not before you I shall be beside you." They advanced upon the fort with firmness, and all the little army did the same, following the example of their chiefs, who had given the

order to cut down the stakes with axes; but when they were within half gun-shot distance they received a discharge from the besieged, which killed the two chiefs, many officers, and a great number of soldiers. At the second discharge they again killed a great many; and, at the third discharge, which was the most murderous, the besiegers retired in disorder, without having wounded a single man. How could they have done so, since they fought against strong stakes and earth works? The besieged, perceiving the route of the besiegers, made a sortie, and massacred all whom they could overtake, pursuing them with a fierceness which is only known to barbarians. Happily, night came, and enabled several to escape, and regain the reserve camp. At daybreak the savages followed upon the path of the fugitives; they had dogs that discovered the wounded in the thickets, and, as soon as found, they were cut in pieces. All this day was passed in seeking them, and those who had strayed from the road. There perished, in the attack on the fort and in the rout, nine hundred men. The savages who were not engaged, and who gained the reserve camp, were there told that there was no doubt that the army would be defeated. Upon this intelligence the officer in command doubled his guards, and sent a detachment forward on the road to reconoitre. They met several officers and soldiers, of whom the greatest part were wounded, who confirmed the news of the destruction of the army, cursing, in the most expressive terms, the conduct of M. Prudomme, and his obstinacy in not being willing to follow the wise counsel of M. Bellerive, who allowed himself to be killed for a point of honor,—very untimely held under such circumstances. The commander of the camp sent, during four days, strong detachments to meet those who had escaped from the massacre. At the end of this time, not see-

ing any one, and afraid of being attacked himself, he caused to be embarked all the artillery and the other articles that were there. The regular troops descended to New Orleans, with the material of the army; the militia and savages took the road towards Canada, from whence they had come, and nothing remained in this camp, which retains, to this day, the name of l'Ecore a Prudomme.[15]

I take up again my Journal, which I had stopped until this time, in order to show the reason why the savages had so much respect for M. de St. Ange de Bellerive, brother of the one who was killed at Chicquachas, and who had himself often engaged in warfare, in company with these savages, in which he had gained their confidence by his bravery.

[15] Lesueur, who ascended the Mississippi as far as the Minnesote River in 1700, wrote in his Journal under date 21 May, 1700, "They say that M. de LaSalle built a fort or entrenchment in this place, and that a Canadian named Prud'homme having gone hunting lost his way, and that since that time (1682) these *Ecores* (bluffs) have been called the *Ecores* or the fort of Prud'homme." 5 Margry, *Decouvertes et Etablissments* 403 *n;* and see Chesnel *Histoire de Cavelier de la Salle*, p. 151.

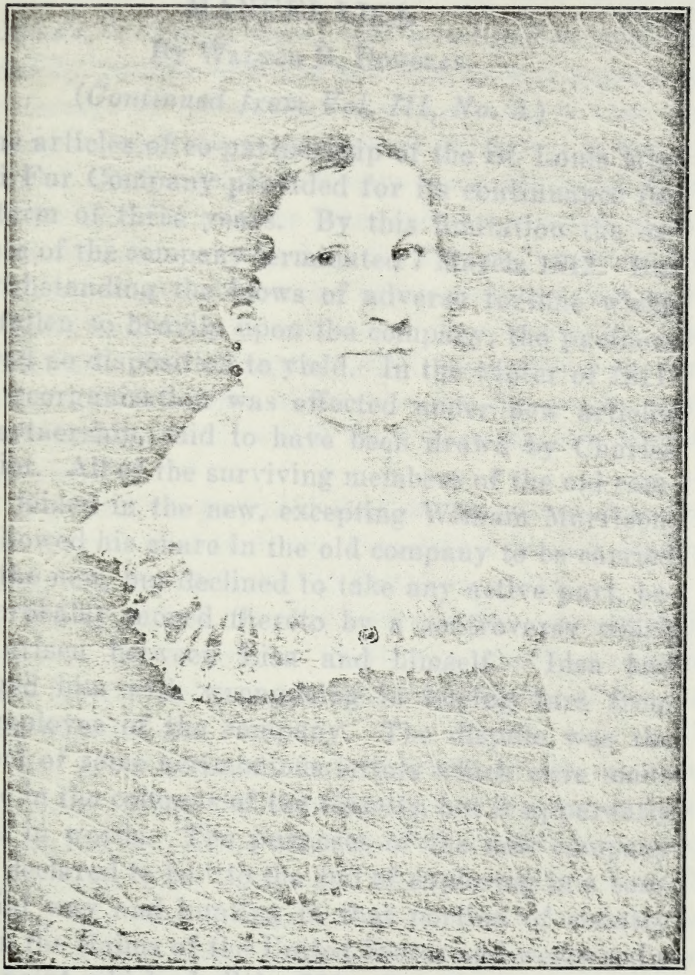
JEFFERSON.

Thine not to lead to cannon mouth
The sturdy North, the gallant South—
Thine but to win by peaceful ways
These hills of iron, these fields of maize.

NAPOLEON.

He gave to Europe sword and gun,
With patriot blood he stained her sod;
But to a land he never trod
His pen gave more than sabre won.

Douglas Malloch, *In Forest Land.*



Mary Lisa

MANUEL LISA.

By WALTER B. DOUGLAS.

(*Continued from Vol. III, No.* 3.)

The articles of co-partnership of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company provided for its continuance for the term of three years. By this limitation the existence of the company terminated 7 March, 1812. But notwithstanding the blows of adverse fortune which had fallen so heavily upon the company, the partners showed no disposition to yield. In the winter of 1811-12 a reorganization was effected under new articles of partnership, said to have been drawn by Charles Gratiot. All of the surviving members of the old company joined in the new, excepting William Morrison. He allowed his share in the old company to be carried into the new, but declined to take any active part, being probably moved thereto by a controversy which had arisen between Lisa and himself. Lisa had charged him with wrongdoing in buying furs from an employee of the company. The dispute was the subject of some acrimonious letters which were made public in the columns of the *Gazette,* but it apparently ended in words. The purposes of the new company were declared to be "to the end of exploring in a commercial way and hunting in that portion of country within the claims of the United States and westwardly of a point which shall be 500 miles from the United States present factories, and to conduct business within the said boundary and at the town of St. Louis."

The capital stock was put at fifty thousand dollars, divided into shares of one thousand dollars each. The second articles of the partnership agreement provided that, "Twenty-three thousand dollars of the said capital stock shall be subscribed for by individuals,

and the funds of the former St. Louis Missouri Fur Company, which is now up the Missouri, calculated at twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and eighty-five dollars, in goods, wares and merchandise, and debts due by hunters who are now out, as will appear with reference to the settlement of accounts of that Company in possession of General William Clark of St. Louis, shall constitute twenty-seven thousand dollars of the said fund and be taken into the common stock of this association subject to the future direction of the President and Directors aforesaid, and the undersigned individual members of the former St. Louis Missouri Fur Company shall be entitled to three shares each in this association for the goods, wares, merchandise, etc., which they have up the Missouri aforesaid."

The articles provided that unless sooner dissolved, as therein provided, the association should continue until the first Monday of December, 1818.

William Clark, Manuel Lisa and Sylvestre Labbadie were chosen directors. Clark was president and Lisa was the general manager and commandant of the trading expeditions.

An advertisement was published in the *Louisiana Gazette* asking for subscriptions to the twenty-three thousand dollars of unsubscribed capital, but no subscriptions were received. The association depended upon this twenty-three thousand for its working capital. Had it been forthcoming the company's success would have assured; without it failure was inevitable.

An attempt was made to raise the necessary funds among the partners. At a meeting held 8 February, 1812, it was resolved "that it is expedient that three thousand six hundred dollars cash and five thousand and four hundred dollars credit is necessary to be given by members of the company to complete the nec-

essary outfit, and that the president be authorized to call upon each individual member of the company for four hundred dollars cash, and a credit of six hundred dollars by their notes payable in August next."

To this call only the directors responded. Clark and Lisa each put up their notes for over ten thousand dollars and Labbadie for about one thousand. At this time Lisa borrowed from Antoine and Pierre Carraby of New Orleans three thousand dollars, the payment of which he secured by mortgage on the undivided one-half of the land granted to Joachim Lisa in 1779, which had been assigned by Joachim to him. This mortgage was not released until August, 1827; long after Lisa's death.[1]

The first expedition of the new company set out in two barges, one of which sailed on 2 May, 1812, and the other four days later. Lisa commanded the expedition, but as he was in St. Louis on 7 May, he must have met the boats at St. Charles.

It was on this expedition that Fort Lisa was built, eleven miles by land above the present city of Omaha, and new headquarters there established. But the upper river was not abandoned. A party under Toussaint Charbonneau was sent to the *Gros-ventres;* one under Nicolas Glineau to the Mandans, and one under Louis Lorimier to the Crows; the afterwards notorious mulatto, Edward Rose, being employed as their interpreter; Michel E. Immel made returns from Fort St. Michel *chez les Sioux,* and Philip Fontaine from the post at the Arickaras. It appears that a party under Etienne Cadron dit St. Pierre (a name well known on the other side of the Mississippi) was at Fort Manuel, but whether the party had wintered there or had been sent from Fort Lisa, is not made clear; nor can we be sure that the Fort Manuel men-

[1] St. Louis Records, Book C, p. 561.

tioned is the Fort Manuel (or Fort Raymond) built in 1808 at the mouth of the Big Horn, though that is to be presumed.

Three men, Charles Sanguinet *fils,* Charles Latour and Chevalier *cadet,* were sent by Lisa from Fort Manuel on an expedition "*pour serche les Chasseurs qui etet sur la Riviere des Espagnols et Arapaos.*" He evidently had never abandoned his idea of opening up a trade with New Mexico, and on this occasion he gave a letter to Sanguinet addressed to the Spaniards with proposals to that end. The hunters for whom this search was made were, there is little reason to doubt, Ezekiel Williams, Jean Baptiste Champlain *fils* and about eighteen other men who left Lisa on the Missouri to go to the southward in 1810, though Williams says that they went in 1812.[2]

Lisa remained up the river all winter, and the other partners, excepting Reuben Lewis, who was with Lisa, were very busy at home. The regular annual meeting of the partners was held in St. Louis 7 December, 1812. There were present Governor Clark, Sylvestre Labbadie, Pierre Chouteau, Andrew Henry and A. P. Chouteau. Governor Clark had the proxy of Reuben Lewis.

Lisa was dropped from the directory and Pierre Chouteau elected in his place. The articles of association were amended by striking out the words, "one other member of the said Board of Directors so to be appointed shall be obliged to ascend the Missouri," and inserting in their place, "one of the Directors or stockholders, or such suitable person as the Board of Directors may employ shall be obliged etc."

The meeting also authorized and directed the Presi-

[2] The Missouri Historical Society expects to publish Williams's letter at an early date. It is the foundation upon which David Coyner built up his apocryphal story of *The Lost-Trappers.*

dent and Directors "to appropriate such funds of the company as may come into the hands of the President, in discharge of the debts of the company, and the surplus which may remain to be applied in making purchases of such articles as may in their opinion be necessary for the use of the company up the Missouri and for making an outfit to the amount of said surplus."

The vote for the ousting of Lisa is not given, but later events show that Governor Clark was not a party to it, and Lisa's friends in the meeting were probably Clark, Lewis, and Labbadie, or, perhaps, Henry instead of Labbadie. Lisa and Lewis returned to St. Louis in July, 1813, leaving Immel in command at Fort Lisa. The result of the expedition was a surplus of about nine thousand dollars, but, with Lisa at home, the project of employing the surplus for the purchase of another outfit was promptly dropped.

A meeting of the partners was held on 22 July, 1813, at which the President and Directors were authorized to sell all of the property of the company and to advertise for a meeting "for the express purpose of dissolving the said company."

Lisa, in the meantime, seems to have taken an active part in the everyday life of the village. War with Great Britain having been declared by Congress in June, 1812, while Lisa was on his voyage up the Missouri, he found on his return that the town was a center of military activity. He offered his services and was appointed captain of a volunteer company of infantry attached to the first regiment. Bartholomew Berthold was lieutenant of the company and Francis Guyol de Guiran was ensign. The military record of this company is unrecorded in history, but had the opportunity afforded, Lisa's qualities were such as to have achieved for him the fame of a Marion or a Jo. Shelby.

In August, 1813, the General Assembly of the territory of Missouri[3] passed an Act incorporating the Bank of St. Louis. Lisa, together with Col. Auguste Chouteau, Judge Jean B. C. Lucas, Moses Austin, Bartholomew Berthold and others, was appointed commissioner to open books for subscriptions to the capital stock. The stock was, after some delay, subscribed for and the bank began business, but it proved to be a losing venture. How much Lisa invested has not been learned, but his loss was, no doubt, a substantial one. It is said that the loss of his fortune by Moses Austin by reason of his connection with this bank was what turned his thoughts to the colonization of Texas.

Lisa was also appointed joint commissioner with Captain Theodore Hunt[4] to supervise the erection of a

[3] The name of the Territory was changed from Louisiana to Missouri 4 June, 1812.

[4] Theodore Hunt was born near Trenton, New Jersey, and was a cousin of Wilson Price Hunt of Astoria fame. He entered the navy at an early age, having been appointed midshipman 2 September, 1798. He was promoted to a lieutenancy 4 April, 1802. He was one of the officers of the *Philadelphia* during the war with Tripoli, and was captured by the Tripolitans, when the *Philadelphia* was wrecked on the rocks in the harbor at Tripoli, 26 August, 1803. Lieutenant Hunt, together with Captain Bainbridge, Lieutenant David Porter and many other officers and men were kept prisoners until June, 1805, when terms of peace were agreed upon. During their long imprisonment the Americans were treated sometimes with kindness, but often with great brutality. Hunt resigned from the navy 11 May, 1811. Some time after his resignation he visited his brother at Lexington, Kentucky, and extended his journey to St. Louis. He here met Miss Anne Lucas, and here he remained. He and Miss Lucas were married 23 June, 1814; Governor Clark being one of the witnesses to the marriage. They lived for many years in the house at the southwest corner of Second and Spruce streets, which Capt. Hunt bought from Lisa. Capt. Hunt engaged in business until 1824, when he was appointed by President Monroe U. S. Recorder of Land Titles, which office he held until his death. The volumes of *Hunt's Minutes* which he kept as Recorder are, by reason of his intelligent interest in the early history of Missouri, of great historical value. Capt. Hunt died on Saturday, 21 January, 1832, leaving his widow and three children surviving.

bridge over the creek below the town of St. Louis. This bridge, which was known in its day as "the St. Louis bridge," spanned *la petit riviere* or Mill creek, as it was named by the Americans, on the road which was a continuation of Church, or Second, street. After crossing the bridge the way ran southwestwardly to the Catalan road, later the Carondelet road and now South Broadway. In the *Gazette* of that summer Lisa's name appears in advertisements offering rewards for the return of strayed oxen and a light gray horse.

The meeting for the dissolution of the company was postponed from time to time. Finally on 6 December, 1813, the partners came together, declared a dividend and adjourned until 17 January, 1814. On that day a letter from William Morrison was presented "accepting" membership in the company and he was accordingly "admitted under the same principles as the said company has been established." On the same day, it is further recorded, that the majority of the stockholders of the company "have unanimously agreed that the interest of the several members requires a dissolution of said company. Therefore it is agreed and well understood that said company is from this day and forever hereafter to be considered as dissolved and no longer exist."[5]

The defection of his associates and the disturbed condition of the Indian country would have stayed most men. Not so with Manuel Lisa. We can imagine him saying, with Don Quixote, "*Aun hay sol en las*

[5] The quotations from the Company's minutes, above given, are from a copy of the book in the library of the Missouri Historical Society. The Fur Company's books remained in the possession of the Clark family until the troublous times of the war between the States when they drifted to Kansas. Fortunately a portion of them were bought by the Kansas Historical Society to whose kindness we are indebted for the copy above mentioned.

bardas"—there is still sunshine on the hillside,—and setting to work with new vigor.

He enlisted Captain Theodore Hunt, his fellow bridge commissioner, in the trade, and they formed a partnership under the old name of the Missouri Fur Company.

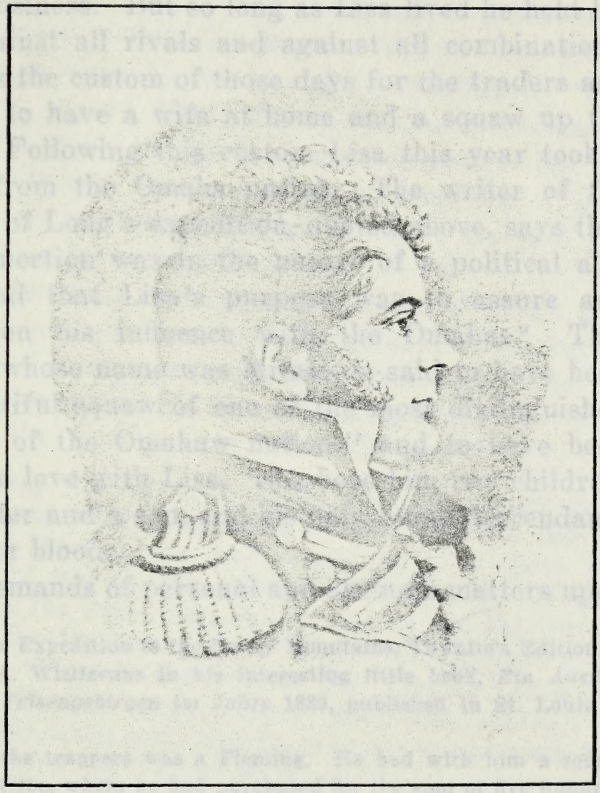
Governor Clark showed his zeal for the public service, and his good will to Lisa, by appointing him subagent for the Indians on the Missouri River.

A boat was sent up the river early in August, by the new firm, but the men were frightened by the Indians and returned to St. Louis.[6]

Lisa then took charge of the expedition and sailed on 14 August. Captain Hunt also went up the river this year, but whether or not he went in company with Lisa is unknown.

[6]The *Gazette* of 13 August, 1824, contains the following: "A few days ago, a barge belonging to Messrs. M. Lisa & Co. which was ascending the Missouri to their trading establishment, was induced to stop at Mackey's Saline (commonly called Boone's Lick), as the country was overrun by the Indians and all the inhabitants in forts. The crew which arrived here [St. Louis] on Saturday night last, in a three-days' passage, report that on the south side of the Missouri, the Indians had taken all the horses and were killing the cattle for food; that on their arrival at the Saline, the people at Cole's fort were interring a man just shot by the Indians. On the north side, near Kinkaid's fort, a man was killed in a flax field. On Monday last, the 25th ult., 70 of the inhabitants assembled and set out as a patrole to observe the motions of the savages. After taking a considerable circuit they were about to return to their several forts when they observed a body of Indians which were instantly attacked; 4 were killed on the spot and one of our people was severely wounded.

Mackey's Saline is about 180 miles N. W. of St. Louis, situate on the north side of the Missouri. About 200 families are settled at that place within the skirt of a bottom extending 20 or 25 miles. The soil is said to be the most fertile of any in America, and abounding in salt springs. Although the inhabitants are settled beyond the pale of the laws, yet they are represented by all who have visited their country to have a better ordered police than most other countries abounding with volumes of laws."



Theodore Hunt

The dissolution of the old company seems to have induced the belief that the field was open to all comers. The writer of the Journal of Long's expedition[7] says that the pressure and wiles of many rival traders had caused a decline of Lisa's influence and a falling off in his business. But so long as Lisa lived he held his own against all rivals and against all combinations.

It was the custom of those days for the traders and hunters to have a wife at home and a squaw up the river.[8] Following this custom Lisa this year took a squaw from the Omaha nation. The writer of the Journal of Long's expedition, quoted above, says that this connection was in the nature of a political alliance, and that Lisa's purpose was to assure and strengthen his influence with the Omahas.[9] This woman, whose name was Mitain, is said to have been "a beautiful squaw of one of the most distinguished families of the Omahaw nation," and to have been deeply in love with Lisa. She bore him two children, a daughter and a son, and his only living descendants are of her blood.

The demands of personal and business matters upon

[7] 2 Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, Thwaite's Edition, p.

[8] Dr. F. A. Wislizenus in his interesting little book, *Ein Ausflug nach dem Felsengebirgen im Jahre* 1839, published in St. Louis in 1840, says:

"One of the trappers was a Fleming. He had with him a squaw of the Ute tribe, whom he had purchased for the sum of five hundred dollars, but he was disposed to part with her for half of the purchase price. She was a short, shapeless bit of obesity [*fettklumpen*], but seemed to possess very good qualities, for he commended her to us in the following words, characteristic of the cardinal virtues of a squaw: 'She is young, gentle, easy and in first rate order.' The trappers have acquired from the Indians the bad habit of regarding their Indian wives as things and not as persons, and the squaws themselves appear to wish nothing different."

[9] The journal above mentioned was written several years after the event. The writer had no personal knowledge upon which to base his statements, and his whole story of the affair, more of which will be given later, sounds like barracks gossip.

his time and attention were not allowed to interfere with the full performance of his new duties as Indian Agent. The settlers in Wisconsin, Michigan and the neighboring country who had never heard of Lisa were indebted to him for the preservation of their lives and property. Governor Clark, in his report (1815) to the Washington authorities gives a list of the Indian Agents, in which he speaks of Lisa as follows: "Manuel Lisa, salary $548. Agent for the tribes on the Missouri above the Kanzas; greater part of his time with the tribes; resides at St. Louis; has been of great service in preventing British influence the last year by sending large parties to war."[10]

An interesting contemporary account of Lisa's dealings has been preserved. Joseph Renville, the British guide and interpreter with the Sioux during the war of 1812, gave it to his mixed blood son, the Rev. John B. Renville, who reports it as follows:—

"During the war (of 1812) the Americans from Saint Louis stirred up much trouble between the Tetons and the Santees, and it seemed as if there was to be civil war in the Dakota Confederacy. Manuel Lisa was the American Agent and he set the Tetons against the Santees because the latter supported the English. That is the reason the Santees could not help the English more. Every time they started out to go to the lakes and Canada, runners would come and tell them that the Tetons were coming to destroy their families and they were compelled to return to their homes to protect their women and children. Lisa had his post either on American Island, where Chamberlain now is, or on Cedar Island above the big bend of the Missouri. He had a big post there and the Tetons were not nearly so poor as were the Santees, for they had plenty of buffalo meat and Lisa bought all their furs. Lisa was a very smart man, and he managed things so that all of the money and work of Dickson

[10] American State Papers, Vol. VI, Indian Affairs II, p. 76.

(the British agent) to get the Santees to fight the Americans was lost. He got one of our men (Tamaha, the one-eyed Sioux) to spy on his own people and let him know all that was being done. Father met Lisa several times after the war, and he boasted about the way he managed the Tetons."[11]

The news of the treaty of Ghent travelled slowly in those days, and its effect upon the Indian allies of the respective parties was by no means immediate.

To further cement the friendships which he had formed and to intensify the animosities which he had aroused, Lisa brought down the river in June, 1815, a large party of friendly chiefs.

We first hear of them at St. Charles. In a letter of the Rev. Timothy Flint he says:

"Manuel Lisa, the great Spanish fur dealer on the Missouri, brought down a deputation of Indians from the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis. These savages, we were assured, had been so remote from white people and their ways, as never to have tasted the bread of the whites before this trip. They had the appearance of being more unsophisticated and panther-like, than any savages I had seen."[12]

Their arrival at St. Louis was chronicled in the *Gazette* of Saturday, 10 June, 1815, as follows:

"On Tuesday last arrived here, from the upper Missouri, Mr. Manuel Lisa with 43 chiefs and head men of the several bands of Sioux, also the chiefs of the Mahas and Poncaras residing between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. These chiefs, etc., represent

[11] Interview of Doane Robinson, Esq., with Rev. John B. Renville, 10 August, 1901. The Missouri Gazette of that time has many notices of the work of Robert Dickson in arousing the hostility of the Indians towards the Americans. And in the Gazette of 17 June, 1815, is an account of a Sioux Indian who went up the river last autumn with Manuel Lisa, Esq., and visited the disaffected bands in the American interest.

[12] Recollections of The Last Ten Years passed in the Valley of the Mississippi, by Timothy Flint, Boston, 1826, p. 151.

nations who have offered their services to the United States and are anxious to make war on the Sacks and other hostile Indians, and have actually killed several Iaways a few weeks ago. Among this deputation we recognize Big Elk, the Maha Chief, Partizan, the Teton chief, and the little Dish, Yan'cton chief. Partizan, the Teton chief, is the person who attempted to stop Captains Lewis and Clark on their journey to the Pacific Ocean. Sometime about the middle of April 250 or 300 Poncaras had gone to war against the Sacks, which will no doubt bring those wretches to a sense of danger."

Lisa's guests remained in St. Louis for about three weeks. They had meetings in the council house at Main and Vine streets (S. E. corner), at which many speeches were made, and Ong-pa-ton-ga (Big Elk) presented the views of the visitors in the highest style of Indian oratory. From St. Louis they went to Portage des Sioux, long the favorite place for treaty making, and there on July 18 and 19, 1815, William Clark, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau, "Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, on the part and behalf of the said States," concluded treaties of friendship with the Teton Sioux, the Sioux of the Lakes, the Sioux of the River St. Peters, the Yancton Sioux, and the Mahas (Omahas). In all these Lisa took part. Treaties were also made there that Sumner with the "Poutawatamie" Nation, the Piankishaws, the Kickapoos, the Great and Little Osages, the Sacs, the Foxes and the Kansas.

A correspondent of the *Gazette* wrote from Portage des Sioux of the gathering:—

"This village and neighborhood exhibit an altered scene. Business, curiosity or pleasure has attracted to the spot a number of all colors and sizes; even vagrant gamblers may be noticed prowling about in search of prey. Col. Miller's camp presents a view highly interesting, the regularity and handsome display of

about 100 tents; the well ordered police, and above all a correct discipline will, I hope, ensure tranquility. The chiefs and warriors of the hostile Sacks have come to the number of 40 or 50. Namoitte, the principal butcher, is among them; they frown and strut about with the most insufferable impudence." *

Lisa took these Indians back to their homes in the fall, and he remained up the river all winter.

He returned to St. Louis about the middle of June, 1816, and started back up the Missouri about the first of September.

The only record of his actions during his stay is the following advertisement which appeared in the *Gazette*:

"Notice. Those gentlemen desirous of hearing proposals for a company for trading up the waters of the Mississippi and Missouri will attend at 5 o'clock this evening at Union Hall.

Manuel Lisa."

June 29 [1816]"

The partnership with Captain Hunt expired by limitation in 1817, and Lisa was perfecting his arrangements for the future conduct of the business.

The *Gazette* of 14 June, 1817, reports Lisa's return.

"Manuel Lisa arrived here yesterday from Fort Lisa, 45 miles above the River Platte, on the Missouri, with a valuable cargo of furs and peltries, said to be worth $35,000. We learn that the Indians generally are at war with one another. No accident happened to Mr. Lisa's party except in one instance; a party of Sioux (thought to be a war party) met a few of the laborers three miles from the fort, and shot through the body with an arrow Pedro Antonio, a Spaniard. The Indians might have cut off the whole party if they were inclined to further mischief."

* Missouri Gazette, Saturday, 10 June 1815.

He brought with him, this year, his little daughter, Rosalie, then about nineteen months old.[13]

He also brought down this year twenty-four chiefs and representatives of the Ottoes, Missouris and Poncas, the head chief of the Pawnees and two chiefs of the Sioux. Treaties were made at St. Louis by Clark, Edwards and Chouteau, representing the United States, with the Ottoes and the Missouris and the Poncas on 24 and 25 June, 1817.

While here at this time he published two letters written to Governor Clark which are sufficiently characteristic and intrinsically interesting to be reprinted. They are as follows:

"St. Louis, July 1st, 1817.

To his Excellency Governor Clark:

Sir:—I have the honor to remit to you the commission of sub-agent, which you were pleased to bestow upon me in the summer of 1814, for the Indian nations who inhabit the Missouri River, above the mouth of the Kansas, and to pray you to accept my resignation of that appointment.

The circumstances under which I do this demand of me some exposition of the actual state of these Indians, and of my own conduct during the time of my sub-agency.

Whether I deserve well or ill of the government depends upon the solution of these questions: 1st. Are the Indians of the Missouri more or less friendly to the United States than at the time of my appointment? 2d. Are they altered, better or worse, in their own condition during this time?

To the first proposition I have to say, that I received

[13] Rosalie was baptised 10 July, 1818, The entry in the Cathedral Register is as follows:

"Le dix juillet mil huit cent dix huit, nous soussigné avons batise Rosalie, fille naturelle de Manuel Lisa et d'une sauvagesse, née le vingt neuf novembre, 1815. Le parrain a été Jean Pierre Gratiot et la marraine Marianne Pelagie Pratte, lesquel out signé avec nous.

Marianne Pratte. Niel, prêtre. J. P. Gratiot."

this appointment when war was raging between the United States and Great Britain, and when the activity of British emissaries had armed against the republic all the tribes of the Upper Mississippi and of the northern lakes. Had the Missouri Indians been overlooked by British agents? No. Your excellency will remember that more than a year before the war broke out I gave you intelligence that the wampum was carrying by British influence along the banks of the Missouri, and that all the nations of this great river were excited to join the universal confederacy then setting on foot, of which the profit was the instrument, and the British traders the soul. The Indians of the Missouri are to those of the Upper Mississippi as four are to one. Their weight would be great, if thrown into the scale against us. They did not arm against the republic; on the contrary, they armed against Great Britain, and struck the Iowas, the allies of that power. When peace was proclaimed, more than forty chiefs had intelligence with me; and together we were to carry an expedition of several thousand warriors against the tribes of the Upper Mississippi, and silence them at once. These things are known to your excellency.

To the end of the war, therefore, the Indians of the Missouri continued of the United States. How are they today, when I come to lay down my appointment? Still friends, hunting in peace upon their own grounds, and we trading with them in security, while the Indians of the Upper Mississippi, silenced but not satisfied, give signs of enmity, and require the presence of a military force; and thus the first question resolves itself to my advantage.

To the second question I thus reply:—Before I ascended the Missouri as sub-agent, your excellency remembers what was accustomed to take place. The Indians of that river killed, robbed and pillaged the traders; these practices are now no more. Not to mention others, my own establishments furnish the example of destruction then, of safety now. I have one among the Omahas, more than six hundred miles up the Missouri, another at the Sioux, more than six hundred miles further still. I have from one to two

hundred men in my employment, quantities of horses, of horned cattle, of hogs, of domestic fowls. Not one is touched by an Indian; for I count as nothing some solitary thefts, at the instigation of white men, my enemies; nor as an act of hostility, the death of Pedro Antonio, one of my people shot this spring, as a man is sometimes shot amongst us, without being stripped or mutilated. And thus the morals of these Indians are altered for the better, and the second question equally results to my advantage.

I have had some success as a trader; and this success gives rise to many reports.

Manuel Lisa must cheat the government, and Manuel Lisa must cheat the Indians; otherwise he could not bring down every summer many boats loaded with rich furs. Good. My account with government will show whether I receive anything out of which to cheat it. A poor five hundred dollars as sub-agent salary, does not buy the tobacco which I annually give to those who call me *father*.

'Cheat the Indians.' The respect and friendship which they have for me, the security of my possessions in the heart of their country, respond to this charge, and declare, with voices louder than the tongues of men, that it cannot be true. But Manuel Lisa gets so much rich fur! Well, I will explain how I get it. First. I put into my operations great activity. I go a great distance while some are considering whether they will start today or tomorrow. I impose upon myself great privations. Ten months of the year I am buried in the depths of the forest, at a vast distance from my own house. I appear as the benefactor, not as the pillager: of the Indian. I carried among them the seed of the large pumpkin from which I have seen in their possession fruit weighing one hundred and sixty pounds; also the large bean, the potato, the turnip: and these vegetables will make a comfortable part of their subsistence; and this year I have promised to carry the plow. Beside, my blacksmiths work incessantly for them, charging nothing. I lend them traps, only demanding a preference in their trade. My establishments are the refuge of the weak, and of the old

men no longer able to follow their lodges; and by these means I have acquired the confidence and friendship of the natives and the consequent choice of their trade.

These things I have done, and I propose to do more. The Ricarees and the Mandans the Gros-ventres and the Assininboins find themselves near the establishment of Lord Selkirk, upon the Red River. They can communicate with it in two or three days. The evils of such a communication will strike the minds of all persons, and it is for those who can handle the power to dilate upon them.

For me, I go to form another establishment to counteract the one in question, and shall labor to draw upon us the esteem of these natives, to prevent their commerce from passing into the hands of foreigners.

I regret to have troubled your excellency with this exposition. It is right for you to hear what is said of a public agent, and also to weigh it and consider the source whence it comes. In ceasing to be in the employ of the United States I shall not be less devoted to its interest. I have suffered enough in person and in property under a different government to know how to appreciate the one under which I now live.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your excellency's obedient servant.

Manuel Lisa."

"St. Louis, July 2d, 1817.

"Sir:

Last year, I arrived from the Missouri the 22d of June, and learned that scandalous reports were circulated against me. I wrote and published an article in the *Gazette* of this town. The calumny was refuted, and the authors refused to unmask themselves. On the first of September I re-entered the Missouri, and ascended to my upper establishment, a distance of twelve hundred miles. Returning to this place on the 14th instant, I learned from you the day before yesterday, that certain scandalous reports were again on foot to my prejudice.

1. That I had disposed of the merchandise of government to my own account.

2. That I had not brought down the Panis [Pawnees] to treat with the Commissioners at St. Louis, upon their requisition.

3. That I had prevented the Omahas from revenging upon the Sioux the murder of Pedro Antonio.

4. That I had misapplied the provisions, given me last year, for the Sioux and Omahas returning home.

5. That I sold whiskey to the Indians.

I owe it to you, sir, from whom I received the appointment of sub-agent, to exculpate myself from these charges, which I propose to do in a few words.

I received your order the 24th of August, 1814, to receive from Mr. Sibley, $1,335 of merchandise, prices of St. Louis, to be distributed among the Indians of the Missouri, to engage them in offensive operations against the enemies of the United States. The 20th of August, the same year, General Howard, in his official letter, wrote to me, saying, 'I hope you will be able to raise the Sioux against the other Indians of the Mississippi. If you succeed in exciting them to war, it is important, at least, that one of the principal chiefs of each band come to St. Louis.'

1. I distributed the merchandise. I raised the war parties. The presents were made among the Omahas and the Yanctons. The former made some scalps which were brought to St. Louis in February, 1815. I gave a rendezvous to the Yanctons at the entry of the river *a Jacques,* where there met me about nine hundred warriors, and went and took twenty-seven scalps from the allies of Great Britain, the Iowas of the Upper Mississippi; and completed the request of General Howard by bringing down to St. Louis forty-seven warrior chiefs. This is all of the merchandise I have received from government; it has all been distributed, and the objects of the distribution have all been accomplished.

2. The Panis were not brought down. That is true. I did not bring them because the official letter of Mr. Sibley prevented me from doing it. I wrote to you on the 29th of June past, and enclosed this letter, and

consider no other details necessary to my justification; as I could not doubt the official statement of an accredited Indian agent, that the treaty was closed and that it was not the wish of the Commissioners that any more Indians should be brought down.

3. I did prevent the Omahas from revenging on the Sioux the murder of Pedro Antonio. The case was this: Antonio, a Spaniard in my service, was killed nine miles from my establishment. His comrades fled and gave me intelligence. I took one hundred and ninety-two warriors of the Omaha tribe and went to the spot. Those who did the mischief had fled. The Omahas, impatient for blood, were eager to follow. I stopped them with my own presents and my own influence, and I take honor to myself for having done it. The body of Antonio was not mutilated; it was covered with a blanket and his face with a hat; his comrades might have been killed—they were not hurt. The death of Antonio, then, was a case of simple murder, and not an act of national hostility on the part of the Sioux. For one guilty act, must I turn loose two hundred warriors upon the innocent? Forget all moral principle, and turn barbarian myself because in a country called *savage?*

Besides, I had among the Sioux at my upper establishment, two Americans and a Creole who must have felt the tomahawk if I had revenged upon the innocent the death of Pedro Antonio.

I rejoice that the stupid calumniators have made this charge. In attempting to render such conduct criminal, they show the baseness of which they are capable, and the crimes they are ready to commit to injure me.

4. I had a contract for a certain sum, $1,100, and a certain quantity of provisions, to conduct the Omahas and the Sioux, the last fall, to their respective houses. There were forty-seven men of them, and the voyage was of three months. I received from the clerk of the commissioner, Mr. Wash, the order for the provisions, and the papers of his office will show the quantity. It will, then, be easy to calculate that barely enough was allowed to conduct the chiefs to their houses, and they were conducted there; and thus there

is no room for misapplication of a surplus which did not exist.

5. That I have sold whiskey to the Indians.

If this charge is true it is capable of being proved. There are in this town, at present, many persons who have been in my employment, characters of the first respectability; also five nations with whom I have traded; among them can be found witnesses to attest the fact, if it be true. On the contrary, I appeal to the whole of them, and pronounce it a vile falsehood. At the same time, it is an act of hospitality indispensable in his intercourse with the Indians, for the trader to treat his hunters with small presents of liquor. They look for it, and are dissatisfied if they do not receive it. The permanent trader makes such presents with discretion. I have made them, and urged the necessity of them to your Excellency.

This much I have been induced to write and publish, to refute the slanders against me, because I have but just arrived, and my affairs will require me soon to depart again, and I cannot be here to contradict them in person.

I have the honor to be with respect and consideration, etc. Manuel Lisa."[14]

His Excellency Wm. Clark."

The partnership with Captain Hunt came to an end this year.[15] Though their business relations were

[14] The foregoing letters are printed in the *Missouri Gazette*, 5 July, 1817, in the order here given. The *Gazette* of 1816 has been examined, page by page, for the article mentioned as having been then published, but no such article appears. The mention in the second of these letters of Lisa having conducted the Omahas and Sioux to their respective homes, *the last fall*, suggests that the letter itself may be the article which was written the year before for publication, now furnished with a new introduction and date.

[15] In the Gazette of 19 July, 1817, appears this advertisement:

"Notice: The partnership of the subscribers being dissolved by limitation, this is to inform all persons having any demands against the company trading under the firm and style of the Missouri Fur Company, that they will call upon Theodore Hunt who is hereby authorized to settle the business of the company, as witness our hands this 21st day of June, 1817, at St. Louis.

MANUEL LISA.
THEODORE HUNT."

terminated, the friendship between them ended only with Lisa's life.

Who, if any one, took part in the business in place of Captain Hunt, has not been learned.

In the *Gazette* of 9 August, 1817, it is stated,—

"We understand that M. Lisa, Esq., has sent to the eastward for a steam engine of sufficient force to work two pair of mill stones and three saws. This gentleman was the first who effectually developed the important fur trade on the Missouri. He is now about to lead the van in a manufactory of the first necessity."

A Steam Mill Company was organized in which Frederick Bates and William Smith were associated with Lisa. They bought a tract of land on the Mississippi River north of the village which was laid out as Smith, Bates and Lisa's addition to St. Louis. One of the streets in this sub-division was named Lisa street, and appears on the old maps under that name. Later it was merged into O'Fallon street; and there is now no street in St. Louis bearing Lisa's name. The Smith, Bates and Lisa addition lay between the river and Main street, and extended from Ashley street northward to Florida street. A mill was built at Florida street and the levee, afterwards known as the Union Steam Mill.[16]

William Smith was the managing man of the company, but he was unfortunately killed at the very beginning of the enterprise,—28 September, 1817. The mill was afterwards sold to Robert Cathcart and by him to J. and E. Walsh.

[16] An early writer in the press gave expression to the following:

"'The confidence with which Chouteau keeps himself poor, almost penniless, by investing in lands and never selling any, is matched by the composure of Manuel Lisa in risking all his profits of the fur trade in a water front merchant mill, an experiment yet untried.'"

First Four Mills in St. Louis, by William Freudenau, Globe-Democrat, 23 October, 1899.

Lisa was in St. Louis as late at 23 August, 1817, for on that day he and his wife Polly joined in a deed of conveyance to Smith and Bates of a portion of the land above mentioned. His journey up the river was doubtless begun shortly after that date, though no record of it is found. He was again in St. Louis about the middle of June, 1818.

The *Gazette* of 19 June has this notice of his return:—

"Manuel Lisa, Esq., arrived here a few days ago from his trading posts on the upper Missouri, with valuable cargoes of furs, peltry, etc., etc. This enterprising gentleman is anxious to again extend our Indian trade to and beyond the Rocky mountains. Previous to the late war his establishments extended to the Pacific side of the mountains, but his parties were obliged to return to the Missouri, leaving behind them an immense quantity of valuable furs, in consequence of the hostility of the black feet Indians.

We learn that the Indians who reside on the river Platte and between the rivers Missouri and Arkansas are (as usual) at war with one another. About two months ago a party of the Pawnees, consisting of four hundred met a war party of Osages in the plains within fifty or sixty miles of the Arkansas. The advance guard of the Pawnees made a running fight, drawing after them the Osages into an ambuscade formed by the main body of the Pawnees. The affair is said to have resulted in the entire defeat and destruction of the Osages; one only escaped out of forty-eight warriors. Our informant saw forty-seven guns taken from the Osages. The Pawnees are also at war with the Spaniards of Santa Fe—they lately defeated and killed seven Spaniards out of a hunting party they met within the limits of the United States territory. Among the baggage of the Spaniards they found concealed a Spanish boy about ten years old; him they spared intending to offer him as a sacrifice "to the Great Star". This boy has been recently purchased from the priests by Mr. Lisa, and providentially saved from the fire. This poor little victim was so impressed with

his intended fate that (a few nights ago) he sprang from his bed and called for Mr. Lisa to protect him from the Pawnees,who were coming to burn him; and when convinced that he was in a place of safety, he declared that his dreadful apprehensions could not be done away with until he had performed a promise he had made when at the Pawnee village, viz, that if the Almighty would release him, he would have a solemn mass performed for his deliverance. Mr. Lisa says he will if possible have him gratified. He is to be sent to school and educated for the counting house. Sometime ago this sanguinary band took a pado woman prisoner and devoted her to the sacrifice; as she was pregnant they waited her delivery before the offering should be made. However, as soon as she recovered from child-birth, she stole a horse and escaped. Her infant child was immediately transfixed on a sharp pole as an offering to the god."[17]

Lisa came home this year to a bereaved household. Mrs. Lisa had died during his absence, on 10 February, 1818.[18]

[17] An interesting story of the Pawnee sacrifice to the "Great Star," and of the rescue of Lisa's boy is given in 2 Long's *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* (Thwaites' Edition), pp. 151-155. And see also John Treat Irving's *Indian Sketches*, and *Notice sur l'etat Actuel de la Mission de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1820, p. 48.

[18] The *Gazette* of Friday, 13 February, 1818, has this notice:

"Died: On Tuesday morning last, Mrs. Mary Lisa, late consort of Manuel Lisa, Esq., of this place."

The old Cathedral register contains the following:

"L'an mil huit cent dix huit le onze fevrier moi soussigné pretre de la Mission, Vicaire Général de la Diocese, j'ai inhumé dans le cimitiére de cette paroisse le corps de Eulalie Manuel Lisa morde le dix,

En foi de quoi j'ai signé,

Felix De Andreis, P. de la Mission Vicaire Général."

The entry is written with the blank space just as here printed.

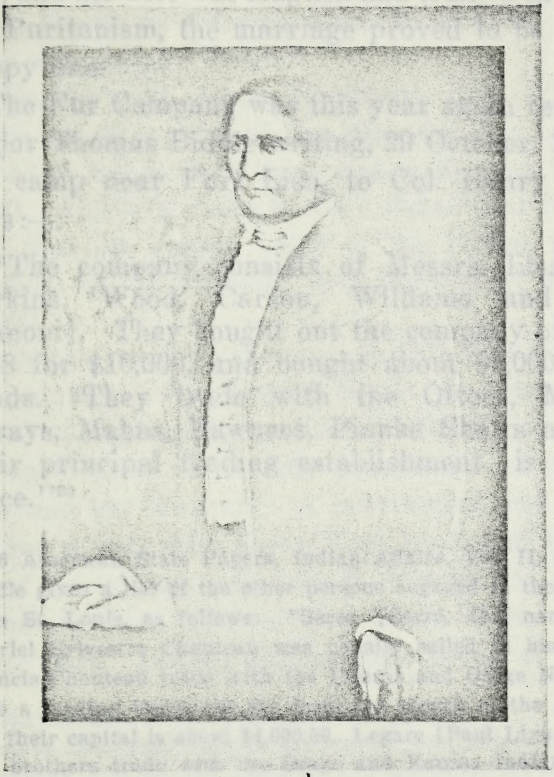
When the first part of this paper was written the date of Madame Lisa's death had not been ascertained. It was assumed that the entry in the register referred to a daughter of Manuel Lisa (See *Ante* p. 237). It seems to be the better opinion, however, that the person buried by Father De Andreis was Madame Lisa; that the name Eulalie is an error, and that there was no such person as

The records show that it was to her, in conjunction with Hyacinthe L'Eglis, that Lisa left the direction of his affairs during his long absences, and that she was a woman of ability. She seems to have had little education, for though at times she signs her name, frequently she is satisfied to sign with a cross mark only. While Lisa seems to have been to her a devoted husband, he was not slow in seeking consolation. His widowerhood lasted less than six months, and on 5 August, 1818, he married Mrs. Mary Hempstead Keeney, widow of John Keeney, and daughter of Stephen and Mary (Lewis) Hempstead.[19]

The list of witnesses who signed the record of the marriage is an interesting and significant one: The

Eulalie Lisa. The entry in the register was apparently made sometime after the burial; the word *onze* is written over figures which look like 18. And it may be further considered that Father De Andreis had at that time been a resident of St. Louis for a few weeks only; not long enough to become familiar with the names of the people.

[19] Mary Hempstead was born at New London, Connecticut, 25 October, 1782. Her family which was of English origin, was settled in New London as early as 1645, and was at all times a prominent one in the history of the Colony. She married 2 June, 1806, John Keeney, a sea captain, who died in 1810, leaving her with one son, Christopher. She removed with her parents and family to St. Louis in 1811. She never remarried after Lisa's death. Her son, was educated in medicine, and began practice at Liberty, Mo., but died 3 June, 1830, aged about twenty-three. Mrs. Lisa continued to live in St. Louis until 1851, at which time she removed to Galena, Illinois, and took charge of the household of her brother, William Hempstead. She died at Galena, 3 September, 1869, and is buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis, by the side of her husband. She was a woman of the highest character, distinguished for great practical wisdom, and for many lovable qualities. Lisa is reported to have said that he never really understood what domestic happiness could be until after his marriage with her. After Lisa's death she was known by her family and friends as Aunt Manuel, and that name is engraved upon her tombstone. Her brother, Edward Hempstead, was one of the leading lawyers of St. Louis, and had been for several years prior to his death, in August, 1817, Lisa's constant adviser.



Jos Chouteau

1758–1849

names are William Clark, Charles S. Hempstead (a brother of the bride), Bernard Pratte and Pierre Chouteau. Though Lisa was a Spaniard and a Catholic, and his wife was English and trained in the strictest Puritanism, the marriage proved to be an ideally happy one.

The Fur Company was this year again reorganized. Major Thomas Biddle writing, 29 October, 1819, from the camp near Fort Lisa, to Col. Henry Atkinson, says:—

"The company consists of Messrs. Lisa, Pilcher, Perkins, Wood, Carson, Williams and Tenonee [Zanoni]. They bought out the company of 1817 and 1818 for $10,000, and bought about $7,000 worth of goods. They trade with the Ottoes, Missourias, Ioways, Mahas, Pawnees, Pianke Shaws and Sioux; their principal trading establishment is near this place."[20]

[20] 6 American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. II, p. 202. Major Biddle gives a list of the other persons engaged in the Indian trade from St. Louis, as follows: "Seres [Cerré, the name by which Gabriel Sylvestre Chouteau was usually called in his youth], and Francis Chouteau trade with the Kanzas and Osage Nations. They have a trading house not far from the mouth of the river Kanzas, and their capital is about $4,000.00. Legare [Paul Liguest] Chouteau and brothers trade with the Osage and Kanzas Indians, near their village on the Osage river; their capital $6,000.00. The United States factory also trades with the Osages and Kanzas. This factory is at Fort Osage.

Roberdeau [Robidoux] and Pepin [Papin] in partnership with Chouteau and Butholl [Berthold] of St. Louis, trade with the Ottoes, Ioways, Missourias, Pawnees, Mahas, Piaukeshaws and Sioux. Their principal establishment is at Nashanotollona, capital, $12,000.00.

Pratt and Vasquer [Vasquez] trade with the same nations. Their principal establishment is near the Maha's village; capital, $7,000.00.

Broseau [Brazeau] and De Lorion trade occasionally with the Sioux and Arickaras; they do not trade this year; capital, $7,000.00."

Chouteau and Berthold were Major Pierre Chouteau and Bartholomew Berthold. Brazeau for many years, and perhaps always, traded in association with Lisa.

Billon gives the names of the members of the company somewhat differently.[21]

His list is, Manuel Lisa, president, Thomas Hempstead, Joshua Pilcher, Joseph Perkins, Andrew Woods, Moses B. Carson, John B. Zenoni, Andrew Dripps and Robert Jones.[22]

In Paxton's *St. Louis Directory,* 1821, it is said that the actual capital of the Missouri Fur Company invested in the trade is supposed to amount to about $70,000. And it is there further stated that it is estimated that the annual value of the Indian trade of St. Louis on the Missouri and Mississippi rivers is $600,000.

When Lisa went up the river in 1819 Mrs. Lisa kept him company. The United States government had sent out an exploring expedition under Major Stephen H. Long to make a scientific examination of the country beyond the Missouri. A cantonment had been established a half mile above Fort Lisa, and the presence of the officers and scienti s gave the place an atmosphere quite different fro that of the ordinary trading post. Dinner parties were given at the post

[21] Billon's Annals of St. Louis, 1804-1821, p. 68.

[22] Thomas Hempstead was a brother of Mrs. Lisa. He did not continue long with the Fur Company, and is perhaps the same person whom Sage met in later years at Bent's fort, when he was known as Dr. Hempstead (*Scenes in the Rocky Mountains,* etc., by Rufus B. Sage). Joshua Pilcher succeeded Lisa as president of the Fur Company and succeeded Gov. Clark as Indian Agent. Woods and Zenoni are spoken of in Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains as leading trading expeditions to the various tribes. Jones was killed with Immel by the Arikaras in 1823. Dripps was for many years a prominent man in the fur trade. Carson was a kinsman of the famous Kit Carson. Williams has not been identified. The name suggests the Central Missouri family which produced Ezekiel and "Old Bill," both famous in Rocky Mountain history. Perkins had been associated with Dripps in some business transactions in St. Louis, but nothing further is known of him, except that he is mentioned as coming down the river with furs in 1823.

and at the cantonment. The *menu* of one of the cantonment dinners is given in the *Account* of the expedition. The writer says:—

"Mr. Lisa and family dined with us by invitation. That we have sometimes food in great sufficiency, the provision upon our table this day will sufficiently attest. It consisted of the entire bison hump, above mentioned, the rump of a bison roasted, boiled bison meat, two boiled bison tongues, the spinous processes roasted in the manner of spare ribs, sausages made of minced tenderloin and fat, etc. It is true that we have no vegetables whatever, but having been so long estranged from them, we scarcely regret their absence. Their place is supplied by excellent wheat flour, of which our cook prepares us bread fully equal in point of excellence, to any that we have ever eaten. The above repast was prepared for eleven persons, two of whom were ladies. The collation was succeeded by coffee as a dessert."[23]

The mention of two ladies shows that Mrs. Lisa must have taken with her some friend for a companion. Who it was has not been learned.[24]

The presence of Mrs. Lisa at the fort was the cause of serious embarrassment to her husband. Her puritan training was at odds with any marital irregularities. The writer of the Account of Long's Expedition gives in minute detail the dealings of Lisa with Mitain. The detail is so minute, indeed, as to persuade the reader that the purpose was to make an interesting story, rather than a statement of facts. The story is that previous to his arrival at the fort, Lisa sent a messenger ahead with instructions that Mitain should be sent to the village of her people, which was

[23] 1 Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, p. 280.

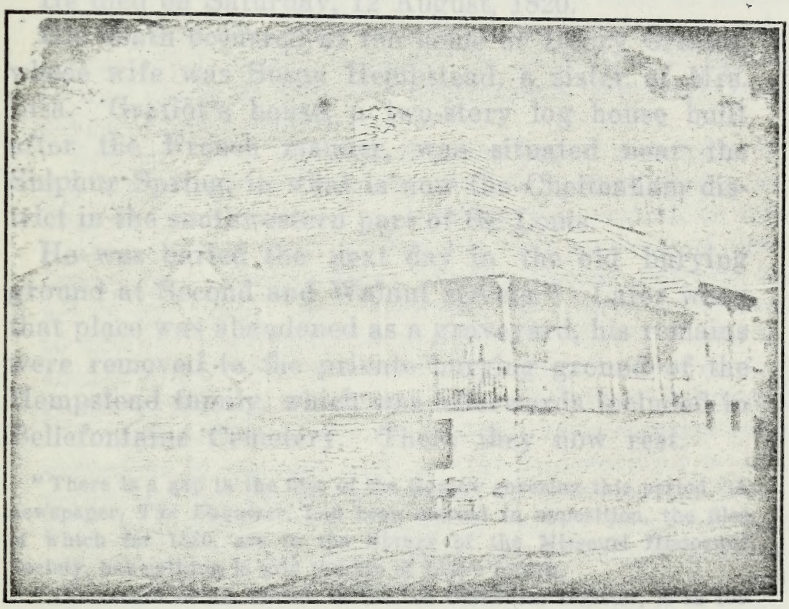
[24] Dr. Thwaites suggests that these were probably the first white women to ascend the Missouri to this point. They were probably the first American women in Nebraska, but Madame Lajoie, who lived in St. Louis for sixty years and died here in 1830, was in the Nebraska country prior to 1770.

sixty or seventy miles inland. The instructions were obeyed, but in a short time she returned with her little boy. Lisa made her bountiful gifts, and told her that their relations were at an end, and asked for the boy that he might have him brought up and educated among the whites, as he had promised her people at the time he took her for his squaw that he would do with any children that might be born. She begged to be allowed to go where she might be near the child and sometimes see him. She refused to leave the boy, and Major O'Fallon finally interfered and prevented Lisa from taking him. This story of her devotion to the child is told by the same writer:—

"One day, in company with six other squaws, she was engaged in her agricultural labors, her infant boy being secured to his cradle-like board, which she had carefully reclined against a tree at a short distance. They were discovered by a war-party of Sioux, who rushed towards them, with the expectation of gratifying their vengeance by securing all their scalps. An exclamation from her companions directed her attention to the common enemy, and in her fright she fled precipitately, but suddenly recollecting her child, she swiftly returned full in the face of the Sioux, snatched her child from the tree, and turned to save its life more precious than her own. She was closely pursued by one of the enemy, when she arrived at a fence which separated her from the field of the trading house. A moment's hesitation here would have been fatal; and, exerting all her strength, she threw the child, with its board, as far as she could on the opposite side.

Four of the squaws were tomahawked, and the others escaped, of which number the mother was one, having succeeded in bearing off her child uninjured."[25]

[25] In the story of Lisa's relations with Mitain, he is spoken of as "a trader," and his name is nowhere mentioned. The story was reprinted in the newspapers; among others in the Missouri Intelligencer, but always without naming Lisa, though it was first printed some years after his death.



MRS. LISA'S HOUSE, 2D AND MYRTLE.

Lisa returned to St. Louis early in April, 1820, but no mention of his return is to be found in the newspapers.[26]

The most careful search brings to light no information as to his occupations during this summer. We know only that he was

> doomed to hear
> (His work untrimmed) the sunset gun too soon.

He died on Saturday, 12 August, 1820.

His death occurred at the home of Henry Gratiot, whose wife was Susan Hempstead, a sister of Mrs. Lisa. Gratiot's house, a two-story log house built after the French manner, was situated near the Sulphur Spring, in what is now the Cheltenham district in the southwestern part of St. Louis.

He was buried the next day in the old burying ground at Second and Walnut streets.[27] Later when that place was abandoned as a graveyard, his remains were removed to the private burying ground of the Hempstead family, which was afterwards included in Bellefontaine Cemetery. There they now rest.

[26] There is a gap in the files of the *Gazette* covering this period. A newspaper, *The Enquirer*, had been started in opposition, the files of which for 1820, are in the library of the Missouri Historical Society, but nothing is said therein of Lisa's return.

[27] The record of his burial, in the old Cathedral register, is as follows:

"Le 13 aout 1820, je soussigné ai inhume dans le cimitiere de cette paroisse le corps de Emanuel Lisa, age de 48 aus. P. Boegna, prêtre de la Cong."

Lisa's home at the time of his death was on the east side of Main Street, between Market and Chestnut Streets. He bought that property from Jean Baptiste Trudeau in 1810. It had then upon it a stone dwelling house. About 1813 Lisa erected a large brick house, having shops on the ground floor, with a place of residence above. He must have made his home there upon the completion of the new building, for on 19 February, 1814, he sold his old home at Second and Spruce Streets to Captain Theodore Hunt for $4,000.

Later Mrs. Lisa removed to a house situated upon a lot long owned by her late husband at the northeast corner of Third and Spruce Streets, numbered 77 Spruce Street, a picture of which is given herewith. She was living there at the date of her removal to Galena.

On the day before his death Lisa made his will. This document manifests too strongly the character of the man to allow its omission. It is as follows:—

I, Manuel Lisa, of St. Louis, Missouri, desiring that after my death no difficulties nor jealousies may arise in the distribution and settlement of my estate, have and do hereby make and ordain this as my last will and testament, to-wit:

First. It is my earnest wish and first desire that all my just debts be settled and paid as soon as practicable, and that difficulties may be avoided in such settlement I hereby empower my executors to agree to and abide by amicable arbitrations when my said executors may deem it proper.

Second. It is my wish that the part I now have in the Missouri Fur Company shall be and continue, as long as the articles of association will permit, in my proper representatives; and for that purpose, if necessary, my executors may employ proper persons to act in my place. And inasmuch as I have consented to execute a mortgage on my property in St. Louis to secure a debt due Messrs. Stone, Bostwick & Co., for goods purchased for the said Missouri Fur Company, if necessary, I hereby authorize and empower my said executors to execute such mortgage according to the terms and for the period agreed on between Mr. Bostwick and myself; and, lastly, I hereby empower my executors to carry into effect the aforesaid articles of association in as full and ample manner as I could do if living.

Third. My executors are strictly enjoined to educate in a proper manner my son, Manuel and Christopher H. Keeney, the son of my wife, also to have raised and educated my two natural children, viz: Rosalie now here, and Christopher up the Missouri river; to which said two children, last named, I give, bequeath and devise the sum of two thousand dollars each, on their respectively arriving at the age of twenty-one, or the marriage of said Rosalie, if before her attaining that age.

Fourth. To my godson, Manuel Lisa, son of Joachim Lisa, my brother, of New Orleans, on his arriving at the age of twenty-one years, I bequeath

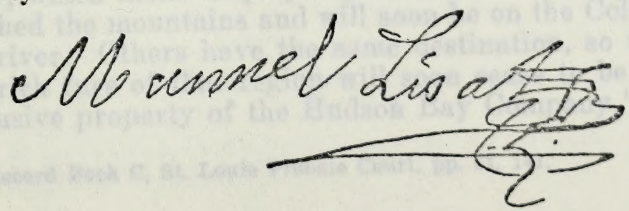
and devise the undivided moiety or half of a concession of six thousand arpens of land originally granted to, and acquired by me from, said Joachim Lisa.

Fifth. All the rest and residue of my estate of whatever nature it may be I do hereby give and devise unto my beloved wife Mary; all my slaves and personal estate she is to enjoy for and during her natural life (except as hereinafter mentioned) and at her decease my said slaves, etc., are to be equally divided between my son, Manuel, and Christopher H. Keeney when they shall respectively attain the age of twenty-one years; but if they or either of them die before attaining such age, then their respective parts and proportions to which they might have been entitled shall go to and be enjoyed by my said wife and her heirs and assigns forever if she should be then living; if, however, she should not then be living the respective parts and proportions of said Christopher H. Keeney and my son, Manuel, shall descend to and be equally divided according to law between my blood relations in New Orleans and elsewhere.

Sixth. In case my said wife, Mary, shall marry again then it is my will that she shall only take, have and enjoy her rights of dower as widow according to the laws.

Lastly. For the execution of the aforesaid will I do hereby nominate and appoint my wife, Mary, as executrix, and Charles S. Hempstead, my brother-in-law, as executor thereof, and do also nominate and appoint them guardians to the several minor children herein named; hereby revoking and annulling all other wills and codicils.

In Testimony Whereof, I, the said Manuel Lisa, have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal at St. Louis County, this eleventh day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty."



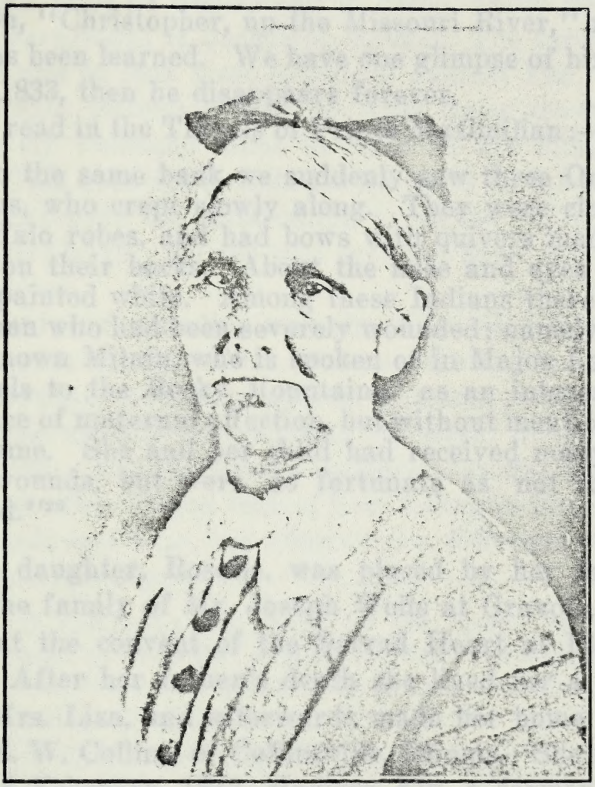
The signature is followed by a wax seal bearing the letters M. L. in script. The witnesses to the will were Theodore Hunt and Elijah Beebe. The instrument is in the handwriting of Charles S. Hempstead, a brother of Mrs. Lisa.

Most of the papers pertaining to the administration of Lisa's estate are missing, and it is impossible to learn its value. When the final settlement was made in 1829, the Court found that the executor and executrix had paid out $1,361.80 2-3 more than they had received.[28] But there is nothing to indicate that any of his real estate had been sold. That the estate was solvent is clear, but the amount of surplus is uncertain. The records show many sales of property by Mrs. Lisa, and she was apparently left very well to do for that time.

Had Lisa lived a few years longer he doubtless would have been the possessor of great wealth. His faith in the future results of his past labors is shown by the language of his will. His death came just at the time when harvest was ripe for the hand of the reaper. A writer in the St. Louis *Enquirer* says [August, 1822]:—

"Since the abolition of the United States factories, a great activity has prevailed in the operation of this [the fur] trade. Those formerly engaged in it have increased their capital and extended their enterprises; new firms have engaged in it and others are preparing to do so. It is computed that a thousand men, chiefly from this place, are now employed in this trade on the waters of the Missouri, and half that number on the upper Mississippi. The Missouri Fur Company, which alone employs upwards of 300 men, has reached the mountains and will soon be on the Columbia river. Others have the same destination, so that the rich furs of that region will soon cease to be the exclusive property of the Hudson Bay Company."

[28] Record Book C, St. Louis Probate Court, pp. 61, 141.



ROSALIE LISA ELY.

Lisa was unfortunate in leaving no son to guard "his sire's renown." His son, Raymond, probably his first born, died in July, 1811, before he had reached the age of six years. His son, Manuel, who was born 14 October, 1809, died 29 June, 1826. Of the fate of his son, "Christopher, up the Missouri River," nothing has been learned. We have one glimpse of him, in May, 1833, then he disappears forever.

We read in the Travels of Prince Maximilian:—

"On the same bank we suddenly saw three Omaha Indians, who crept slowly along. They were clothed in buffalo robes, and had bows with quivers made of skins on their backs. About the nose and eyes they were painted white. Among these Indians there was a woman who had been severely wounded; namely, the well known Mitain, who is spoken of in Major Long's 'Travels to the Rocky Mountains,' as an interesting instance of maternal affection, but without mentioning her name. She and her child had received many severe wounds, but were so fortunate as not to be scalped."[29]

The daughter, Rosalie, was placed by her father with the family of Mr. Joseph Wells at Gravois, and later at the convent of the Sacred Heart at Florissant. After her father's death she lived for a time with Mrs. Lisa, and afterwards made her home with Mrs. E. W. Collins, of Collinsville, Illinois. She married 13 February, 1842, Madison Ely, a farmer and a pioneer Baptist preacher. They had eight children, three sons and five daughters. Her husband died in 1864. She proved equal to the duties imposed upon her, and succeeded in maintaining and bringing up her children to be respected citizens of the community. She died at Trenton, Illinois, where she had lived for forty years, 22 December, 1904. Four of her daughters,

[29] 1 *Travels in the Interior of North America*, by Maximilian, Prince of Wied (Thwaites' Ed.), p. 268.

ten grandsons, eight grand-daughters and twelve great grand-children survived her.

Lisa's death was a great loss to St. Louis. For twenty years he had been one of the most active of her citizens, and year by year he had grown in importance until he was second to none. Those twenty years were years of unceasing conflict. The forces of nature and of man were combined against him. Col. Chittenden estimates that he must have travelled twenty-six thousand miles at least on the Missouri river. This does not include his journeys on the lower river, miscalled the Mississippi, or on the Ohio, Wabash and Osage. No one who does not know the Missouri River,

"This surging, sounding majesty of troubled water,"

can imagine the difficulties of its navigation in Lisa's day. Rowing, cordelling, sailing, warping, poling, and grappling around obstructions, all were in almost daily need. And the keenest watchfulness was always required. Gen. James tells of Lisa lolling in the cabin over cards and wine, but others tell a different story. Brackenridge says:—

"Great exertions are made by Mr. Lisa; he is at one moment at the helm, at another with the grappling iron at the bow, and often with a pole assisting the hands in impelling the barge through the rapid current. The superiority of minds is seen in the smallest incident; on these occasions when the difficulties appeared to the rest insurmountable, the presence of this man, his voice, his orders and cheering exclamations, infused new energy, and another effort was crowned with success."

"On one occasion while passing a difficult and dangerous rapid, Lisa, who was at the head of the boat with a grappling hook, fell overboard and narrowly escaped being drowned."[39]

[39] Brackenridge's *Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri*, 2d Edition. Baltimore, 1816, pp. 27, 105.

But it was not to his great physical strength and powers of endurance that Lisa trusted.

"I believe," says Brackenridge, "there are few persons so completely master of the secret of doing much in a short space of time; which does not consist so much in any great exertion, as in the strict observance of that economy which requires every moment to be turned to advantage."

"The unwearied exertions of Lisa suffered no moment to remain unemployed, and his ingenuity was continually exerted in contriving means of overcoming the difficulties which were continually presenting themselves."[31]

Yet in his chase after Hunt, when every moment was precious, he stopped his expedition for an hour to extricate an ox which he saw mired near the shore.

When the constant severity of their labors wore out the courage of his men, "Lisa himself seized the helm and gave the song, and at the close of every stanza, made the woods ring with his shouts of encouragement. The whole was intermixed with short and pithy addresses to their fears, their hopes, or their ambition."

On another occasion, having heard from Mr. Benoist, whom they met on the river, the most unfavorable news:—

"A gloom overspread every countenance except that of Lisa, who seized the helm, made an encouraging speech, sent around the grog, and then raised the song."

By these methods he not only overcame the difficulties of navigation, but endeared himself to his men as well. How thoroughly he won their confidence and regard is shown by the fact that notwithstanding the great hardships and dangers of the service they remained with him year after year. From the highest

[31] Brackenridge *Journal*, 2d Edition, pp. 6, 47.

to the lowest it was the same. Immel,[32] for instance, who became his lieutenant, went up with the first expedition of the Fur Company, and remained in his service so long as Lisa lived. And in the lists of *engages,* which have been preserved, the same names regularly re-appear.

When Lisa first went up the river many of the natives were openly hostile to the whites, and none were safely to be trusted. The first expedition of the Fur Company suffered so greatly from their attacks that Governor Clark wrote it down as a failure. But as soon as Lisa took command the troubles subsided; so long as he lived friendly relations between the whites and the Indians were generally maintained. After his death, hostilities broke out with redoubled fury. Lisa seems to have gained the confidence and friendship of the Arikaras very quickly, for Brackenridge tells of the apprehensions of Wilson Price

[32] Of Immel little is known. The *Historical Register of the U. S. Army* gives his military record as follows:

"Michael E. Immel, Pa., ensign, 1st infantry, 10 June, 1807; second lieutenant, 14 October, 1808; resigned 30 November, 1808."

There is reason for believing that the *Pa.* in the register is erroneous, and that it should be *La.*, as it is stated in the American State Papers that Michael Immel had a grant of land at Opelousas. Immel appears to have been at St. Louis as early as May, 1804, and as a portion of the First Infantry was at Fort Bellefontaine (St. Louis County) in 1806, he probably joined the army at that place. The order book of Fort Bellefontaine in possession of the Missouri Historical Society makes frequent reference to him. In 1808, he was for a short time in command of the handful of men who garrisoned the fort at St. Louis. He went up the Missouri with the first expedition of the Fur Company in 1809; went with Major Henry to the Columbia River; and remained with the Fur Company and its successors until his death. He was sent with a party of men, in the summer of 1822, to endeavor to open trade with the Blackfeet Indians, but was attacked by them on 31 May, 1823. Immel, Jones (mentioned above) and five of their men were killed. Col. Charles Keemle, for many years afterward a resident of St. Louis, led the remainder of the party to safety. 1 Chittenden's *American Fur Trade,* p.151; 6 Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. II, p.

Hunt and his party "that Lisa, finding himself among a people who were perfectly at his disposal, might betray them."[33]

And we have seen how, at a later time, he controlled those whom, in 1808, he called "the dangerous nation of the Sioux."

How he succeeded in gaining and maintaining such an influence he tells in his letter to Governor Clark printed above. He went among the Indians as a benefactor and not as a pillager; he treated them as friends and labored to win their esteem.

Among his associates and rivals in the fur trade Lisa had no such success in winning confidence and friendship. Brackenridge tells us that, "unfortunately, however, from what cause I know not, the majority of the members of the company have not the confidence in Mr. Lisa which he so justly merits."[34]

When we recall the action of this majority, in Lisa's absence, in 1813, we may well believe that this lack of confidence was mutual. But it is not surprising that Lisa should have been distrusted and feared by the people to whom Brackenridge refers. St. Louis at the time when Lisa became a citizen was a very different town from that which it became a few years later, after the inrush of Americans. In 1799 it was a French town. Though the government was Spanish, the governors for a number of years before the transfer to the United States were Frenchmen. The few Spaniards among its inhabitants were old residents; a large proportion of them had intermarried with the French, and all had their recognized places in the settled course of life in the village. The Chouteaus, Auguste and Pierre, by their ability, by the prestige

[33] Brackenridge, *Journal*, 2d Edition, p. 113.

[34] Brackenridge, *Journal*, 2d Ed., p. 6. And see letter of Bartholomew Berthold printed in Chittenden's American Fur Trade, Vol. I, p. 131.

which had descended to them from Laclede, by their extensive family connection and following, had acquired a dominating influence in the village and in the fur trade.

Lisa came as a stranger and a foreigner. Any influence and support which he had at New Orleans was of little avail at St. Louis. And personally he was a disturber and a revolutionary. He was not a man to whom a place could be assigned; he would make a place for himself. He was a leader, not a follower. His success in obtaining the grant of the Osage trade, so long the property of the Chouteaus, convinced them and their associates that he was not only an interloping upstart, but a dangerous person as well. While Lisa was conciliatory with the Indians and with his employees, he was not so with others. He was impatient with opposition, and of a fiery temper. His sarcasm was acrid, and he was quick to strike with hand or weapon. His unusual qualities of mind, his great breath of view, his keen and accurate foresight, and his mastery of detail, made him sufficient unto himself and intolerant of any divided authority. His confidence in his own powers was absolute. His boldness and physical courage quailed before no obstacle. Compromise was not a thing to be considered.

Popularity could not come quickly to such a man. Had his life been prolonged until old age had cooled his blood he might have compelled it. He would never seek it. But the dislike, distrust and enmity which were inevitable to one of his disposition in the situation in which he lived, were not to be easily or quickly overcome.

There was no malice in Lisa's make-up. Unlike another well known Missourian, he did not "love to lie awake at night and hate his enemies." When his anger subsided no bitterness remained. To witness

his marriage, he sought not only his constant friend, Captain Theodore Hunt, but also his ancient, and it might almost be said, constant rival, Pierre Chouteau.

Lisa's chief defects may, perhaps, be attributable to the want of proper training in his youth. Nothing is known of his schooling except that it was necessarily of short duration. Had it been more thorough it might have taught him a patience which would have obviated many of his difficulties. However short his schooling he cannot be said to have been an uneducated man. He had a good knowledge of Spanish, his mother tongue, and what might be called "a working knowledge" of French and English. Growing up as he did in Louisiana he must have spoken French from his childhood, though he never learned to write it with accuracy. His first wife was of English blood and probably had no other language. In James's story of the expedition of 1809, it appears that Lisa spoke English to his men. Brackenridge says that he was passionately fond of reading Don Quixote, and in the inventory of his estate, besides his set of Don Quixote in five volumes, "twenty-seven volumes of Spanish and French books" are mentioned, and, in addition, a number of text books and dictionaries in English and French, "all old."[35]

It has generally been assumed that the distrust of Lisa had a more substantial basis than what has been stated. But no evidence has come down to us in support of the specific charges of misconduct made against him. The accusations of Prior and Crooks and Mc-

[35] It has been stated that the difficulty which Lisa and his second wife had in communicating with each other for want of a common language was a source of much mirth in the family. But this story is evidently unfounded. There is no question but that Lisa could speak English, and little doubt but that his wife could speak French. A woman of her intelligence, in constant association with the French people of St. Louis for seven years, would not likely have failed to learn their language.

Clellan that Lisa had betrayed them to the Indians appear to be founded in imagination. McClellan's claim that Lisa had failed to furnish him goods of the quality contracted for, was decided in Lisa's favor by the court. Lisa was litigious, but an examination of the numerous cases to which he was a party (generally as plaintiff) fails to disclose any matter to his discredit. So far as can be learned at this day his conduct measured fully up to the moral standard of that time. The death of Antoine Bissonet as the result of Lisa's order to Drouillard to bring him in dead or alive, has been charged as a crime against Lisa; but in that matter he but followed a precedent set by Governor Clark, who sent the same Drouillard after a deserter with the order that if he did not give up peaceably to put him to death.[36] The dangers of a voyage on the river at that day made the desertion of an *engage* equivalent to that of a soldier in the face of the enemy.

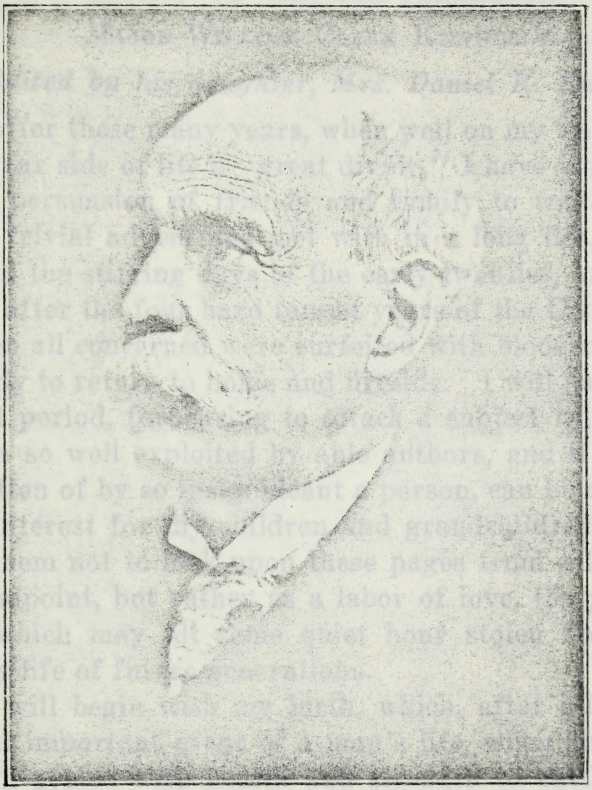
Lisa's character has been summed up by a competent and impartial judge in the following words:—

"About this period there was in St. Louis a trader who was second to none in the fur-trading annals of America, and, strange as it may appear, this gentleman was a Spaniard by birth, who for enterprise and energy was not surpassed by the hardy Scot of the north. This interesting individual was Manuel Lisa. He was upright, honest, a man of sterling worth, a competent judge of men and character, and undoubtedly the best equipped man in every way, engaged in the trade on the Missouri at this time."[37]

When Missouri comes to make up the calendar of those of her neglected sons who have earned the right to honored remembrance, the name of Manuel Lisa will stand high advanced upon the roll.

[36] 1 *Original Journals of Lewis & Clark*, 102.

[37] Dr. W. F. Wagner in introduction to *Adventures of Zenas Leonard, Furtrader and Trapper*, 1831-1836, p. 21.



Wm. Clark Kennerly

EARLY DAYS IN ST. LOUIS FROM THE MEMOIRS OF AN OLD CITIZEN.

MAJOR WILLIAM CLARK KENNERLY.

Edited by his daughter, Mrs. Daniel R. Russell.

After these many years, when well on my way down the far side of life's "great divide," I have yielded to the persuasion of friends and family to write down the trivial adventures met with in a long life, begun amid the stirring days of the early twenties, and ending after the four hard fought years of the Civil War, when all concerned were surfeited with bloodshed and ready to return to home and fireside. I will pass over that period, forbearing to attack a subject which has been so well exploited by able authors, and if events written of by so insignificant a person, can hold aught of interest for my children and grandchildren, I beg of them not to look upon these pages from a literary standpoint, but rather as a labor of love, the perusal of which may fill some quiet hour stolen from the busy life of future generations.

I will begin with my birth, which, after all is the most important event of a man's life, when he comes forth armed with health and strength to battle with the world, or lacking these, to gradually succumb to its buffetings, after fighting for his just right to mere existence. I was born at Fort Council Bluffs, then in Missouri Territory, 2 November, 1824, just two years before the fort was abandoned and the troops, commanded by General Leavenworth, transported by keel boat, to a point twelve miles below St. Louis, where they went into camp until the building of Jefferson Barracks on the same site. I have told of the five years spent there, and of my friendship for old Black-

hawk, so I will pass that by and proceed to the school days.

They were spent in the city with my uncle General William Clark, first territorial governor of Missouri, where I, with his son, Jefferson, attended school at the St. Louis University on 9th street and Washington Avenue, then so far in the country that we were obliged to ride back and forth each day on our ponies.

I liked being in town, for with youth's golden glow of enthusiasm the little frontier village seemed a very metropolis, its novel distractions appealing to my boyish fancy.

Bands of gaily dressed Indians were constantly coming to see the great "red-headed father," General Clark, while *coureurs de bois* occasionally brought news of depredations by their less peaceful brothers. The braves arriving with their squaws and families, painted and arrayed in the most approved savage fashion of undress, were received with much dignity by the General in his council chamber, which was also his museum.

This museum was a large room filled with all sorts of Indian curiosities, canoes, arms, coats of mail, shields, beds, clothes, ornaments of every kind, cooking utensils, pipes, and knives, dishes, agricultural and musical instruments, head-gear, snow shoes, infant's clothing and cradles. It is to be regretted that this collection was not preserved to St. Louis, but about the year 1832 it was borrowed to swell that of a German named Koch, who several years before had arrived in the City with the skeleton of a mastodon and some other curios, opening a museum on Market street near Fourth.

After exhibiting there for a year or more, this "promoter" of his own interests, at least, disappeared between two days with all of the General's collection. It seems strange that no effort was ever made to pur-

sue him and recover them, but, owing to the difficulty of travel, and the fact that Sherlock Holmes' ancestors did not hail from this locality, it was considered hopeless and the said curios now repose in some German museum.

When there were too many of the red brethren for comfort in the council chamber the pow-wows were held on a tract of land owned by my father, James Kennerly, north of the Natural Bridge Road, between Union and Goodfellow avenues, called "Marais Castor" (Beaver Pond) on account of two lakes on the property, which made it an ideal camping ground.[1] There I often went with my parent, who, when the General grew older, acted for a time, as his secretary, transacting much of his business with the Indians.

It was our—Jeff. Clark's and mine—delight to accompany John and William Radford on their hunts for duck and snipe in the locality of Fourth and Pine streets, where now stands a modern hostelry, feeling our own importance in being allowed to pick up the birds. These two young men were step-sons of General Clark, the latter entering the Navy where he rose to the rank of Admiral.

Among our earliest recollections were visits to the confectioner where many of our picayunes were spent. The little town boasted several of these establishments, but the one kept by our good friend, Mons. Massot, was the most popular, for, on looking into his showcase on a school holiday we were almost sure to see a little cake with our respective names done in icing upon it, which subtile flattery invariably tempted the small coins from our pockets.

[1]It was here, in October, 1832, that Governor Clark, Frank J. Allen and Nathan Kouns, as "Commissioners on the part of the United States," made the treaties of "Castor Hill" with the Kickapoos, the Shawnees and Delawares, late of Cape Girdardeau, the Kaskaskias and Peorias, and the Piankeshaws and Weas. 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 391, 397, 403 and 410. Houck's History of Missouri, p.

On the road to Jefferson Barracks well out of town on Second street stood the old "Green Tree Tavern", its sign board swinging in the breeze, where thirsty officers were wont to stop for their first toddy, mint julep, or whatever drink was the equivalent for a high ball in 1830. When they tarried too long at this Temple of Bacchus, there were apt to be collisions with the old French natives of Vide Poche (empty pocket), who coming to town with their tiny loads of cord wood preferred returning home *with* an empty pocket to selling their loads for seventy-five cents when they were asking *"six bits"*.

I frequently went to the theater in these days, with the General's clerk who would smuggle me in under his long cape. Jeff declined to accompany us, being afraid of detection, but I was ever willing to take a chance in the cause of adventure, and enjoyed these little escapades much more than when having my seat paid for in the regular way.

The theater belonged to Ludlow & Sol Smith, who took the leading part in such plays as "The Gambler's Fate" and the "Lady of Lyons". It was on Second street, near Vine, and had formerly been an old salt warehouse, so it was rather crude, except for the scenery which they had brought from New Orleans, and which seemed to me quite as beautiful as the plausible Claude Melnotte described it.

At this time we had our first lessons in fencing, from Rooskooski, a Pole, who filled the position of valet to General Clark after the death of his faithful Yorke. He had been in the army of his own country and was an expert swordsman, though we were almost too young to profit by his teaching and could only admire his lightning passes with broad sword and foil. He also taught us to shoot with a tiny shotgun my father had made for me, at the U. S. Arsenal, on one of his trips by keel boat to the Quaker City. Both of these

sports had great interest for us, having heard wonderful tales of the prowess of my uncle, George Kennerly, with pistol and sword in his duels, before our day.

Numerous were the trips he had made to "Bloody Island", that small strip of land near the Illinois shore then utilized for the settlement of all affairs of honor. Captain George was a great duelist and unerring shot. On one occasion, when engaged with an attorney, Judge Geyer, his pistol flashing in the pan, allowed his antagonist to wound him in the knee. My uncle's reply when Geyer sent a friend to make his peace was characteristic. "Tell him," he said, "that I shall wait and see if this wound causes me to be lame for life, in which case, I shall ask another shot". No such disastrous result occurred, however, he retaining his magnificent physique, and a warm friendship existed between them to the end.

It was fortunate for the State that affairs turned out thus, for, Henry S. Geyer was spared to the community to win honors as lawyer, soldier, and statesman. Owing to his wisdom Missouri came into a code far in advance of other commonwealths and later, in 1850, President Filmore offered him the position of Secretary of War. Declining this, the same year saw him in the United States Senate, having gained his election by five votes over Thomas H. Benton, who had represented the people for thirty consecutive years.

My father had now severed his connection with the army, purchasing a home some distance out, and while holding several official positions in the town, being at one time a trustee, was not prevented from leading the life of a country gentleman, as his forefathers had done, in Virginia and Old England for many generations before him. It was here in our new home *Cote Plaquemine,* that Jeff and I went to live and here our training in out-door sports was continued. Our leisure hours were spent in shooting, riding, and coon

hunting with the darkies, the latter of whom there were quite a number. One "old Congo", a unique specimen, who claiming to be no less than a king in his far away Africa, considered it beneath his dignity to work, so, lay all day in the sun. His knowledge of English was limited, and he stammered dreadfully, always prefacing his remarks by saying "nig", "nig", "nig" before he could utter a word. I fear he was many a time rudely awakened from his slumber by our pranks, when he omitted that formality, expressing himself most volubly in his own tongue.

I recall one day when quite a little lad, after one of these occasions, being called to the house. I at first feared a reprimand, but instead was told to ride into town and escort my Uncle Clark, who was coming out to spend several days with us.

As we started gaily from his door the General on one of his carriage horses and I on my father's riding horse, some one suggested that we change nags as the General was just recovered from a spell of illness, and my horse had much the easir gait. My new mount considered me no more than a fly upon his back, and on reaching his pasture decided to stop and take some refreshment. When I remonstrated he bolted, throwing me off and dragging me until I was picked up unconscious and taken to the home of Dr. Farrar, our family physician and dear friend, where I hovered between life and death for many weeks, my mother having come in to nurse me. After recovering, though still on crutches, I was taken to the old Catholic church on Second street and baptized, General Clark, whose name I bore, standing sponsor for me.

In the year 1837 Daniel Webster made a memorable visit to St. Louis. Great excitement prevailed when it became known that he was expected, and on the day of his arrival thousands of people gathered at the Market street landing to welcome the "expounder of

the Constitution". His entrance to the City being made by boat was compared by the old residents to that of General Lafayette twelve years before.

Mr. Webster was conducted by a committee, among whom were Wm. Carr Lane, James Clemens, Jr., and James Russell, to the old National Hotel, thence to a beautiful grove belonging to Judge J. B. C. Lucas, where a barbecue was held in his honor. People had gathered for miles around to listen to the great statesman, but we children secured front seats and while the words flowed from his lips in one of his epoch making speeches his hand rested caressingly on my proud head. His visit was widely chronicled in the *Missouri Republican* of that day, thus reaching those who found it impossible to leave their far distant homes.

Our education had been carried on by a tutor since coming to the country, but it was now decided that we should be sent off to school, our parents' choice being a college called the "Barrens", situated directly across from the little French town of Kaskaskia, since washed away by the mighty current of the Mississippi. It was kept by the Jesuit Fathers and attended by boys from many States, as well as from Cuba. The discipline was not very rigid, as we were allowed to smoke at any and all times, the smoke from the black cigars which we bought just outside the grounds being so thick that one could scarcely see across the room.

It was little of books that we learned here from the good priests, but much of nature and kindly companionship combined with a certain manliness, which was to stand us in good stead, when battling with the rough frontier life of earlier days. The brothers being so congenial made frequent trips with us to all places of note in the vicinity and we were greatly interested in visiting a wonderful cave with many subterranean vaults and chasms where could be heard the roaring

of water, no doubt an underground river of which the darkness prevented our ever finding the source. The cave was infested by thousand of bats which we would sometimes catch carrying them in a bag and turning them loose in the dormitory on the arrival of a new boy, thus giving him a little excitement and causing him to forget his homesickness. To Colonel Menard, of Kaskaskia, before that time Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, we were indebted for many good times; our Christmas and Easter Holidays being spent at his hospitable mansion. There with his grandchildren we enjoyed all the sports incident to the season, appreciating the warm welcome extended us, as well as the good things of the table which were in strong contrast to the frugal fare of the college.

After several years at The Barrens we were called to St. Louis by the death of General Clark in the year 1838.

The sad tidings of his death caused our first sorrow, and I shall never forget the grief I experienced in thinking that the kindly hand which had not only blazed pathways of glory through an undiscovered country, but had smoothed the rough places in friendship's highway for white man and red, should never again hold mine in its tender clasp. I gathered together all the kind letters he had written me telling beside the family news, the doings of my pets in the country; how my old dog Don had run to meet him with joyous barking and how my tame bear that some old trapper had brought me from the mountains, had got into the peach orchard breaking down all the branches. Just such letters as a boy away from home would love to receive. Ah! well, it was all over now. I tied the letters together again with the little piece of buckskin and dropped them into my travelling box, which early next morning was put on the boat, arriving at its destination in due season, followed by two

miserable youths just in time to assist in the last sad rites.

The funeral was a large military one and very imposing. Several companies of soldiers escorting the remains from the family residence on Broadway and Olive street out to the home of Colonel O'Fallon on the Bellefontaine Road, where they were placed in the family vault until the opening of Bellefontaine Cemetery many years later. The funeral was a pageant for those days, the people lining the streets for blocks, especially on nearing the tomb where the last salute was fired over the body of the man who had done his full share in making the history of his time, and who will be more and more appreciated with each succeeding generation.

After the death of his father, Jeff was sent by his older brothers to a college in the East, and as my mother was loath to part with me I was sent a day scholar to Kemper College; so we began our first separation for any length of time.

My first trip was taken a little later when to break up a case of persistent chills, I was sent to New Orleans just for the trip of the boat which occupied about a month, as she lay for two weeks in that city loading with sugar and cotton. River travel was then at its height and the most important industry of the time. The captain was a little Czar in his own line, and frequently a society leader when on *terra firma*, as well as the biggest fish in the river puddle. We lived as delightfully as at the best hotel, and I was most impressed and amused by the costumes of the boat's officers who were the "mirrors of fashion". The trousers worn by the Pilot were considered especially appropriate as they represented his calling to the extent of having a picture of the Mississippi River woven in the cloth and running from belt to hem; with every detail of scenery, wooded bank, city and

landing, between St. Louis and New Orleans. These patterns were manufactured for the trade, which was an important factor in the commerce of the day.

The first clerk, under whose care I had been placed, was extremely kind, taking me with him to visit all points of interest in the city. We went everywhere from the French opera to the French market where one was sure of getting a cup of good coffee from the old quadroons with large gold earrings and gay bandana. I had much to tell on returning, with all the malaria out of my system and a system of new ideas in my head.

Many people now came to visit at our home among them the son of Daniel Boone on his way to join his father at his new abode on the Missouri.[2] My father bought the nag he had ridden from Kentucky, he intending to finish his journey by boat and "Old Boone," as we named him, though, no doubt, longing for his beloved blue grass pasture, managed for many years, like his namesake, to live contentedly "further west". Mr. Boone presented my father with a portrait of the old pioneer in his scarlet coat trimmed with coonskins, which still remains in the family.

Henry Clay too was a guest at our home on the occasion of his several visits to St. Louis. Thomas H. Benton was also a frequent visitor, a large man of powerful build who impressed me with all the dignity of the great statesman and orator that he was. My mother never liked Thomas Benton, on account of his killing Mr. Lucas, who was also a friend and neighbor. She could never get over her first impression made by the shock of seeing Mr. Lucas carried home dead with Benton's bullet in his breast.

My father was a man of sterling qualities, kind and courteous, standing high in the order of Masons and

[2] Major Kennerly's knowledge of this visit must have been based upon hearsay, since Daniel Boone died in 1820.

the Episcopal Church, being one of the first trustees of Christ Church, now the Cathedral. It was a crushing blow, therefore, to the entire family when just two years after the death of General Clark he, too, passed away and was laid to rest by his side, in the vault of his old friend, Colonel John O'Fallon, whose close comrade he had been since the latter came a young man from Virginia, to seek his fortune in the West.

Her husband being taken at the age of forty-five, my poor mother remained a widow for fifty-three years, living to see a perfect renaissance of science take place in her generation. She was Elise Marie, daughter of Dr. Pierre Antoine Saugrain, and had spent the early days of her childhood tripping about the paths of Madame Saugrain's beautiful garden, used as a park by the people who came to visit the green-houses and see the wonderful plants sent by Madame's friends from many parts of the world. Here roses and honeysuckle ran riot in color and sweetness, while the "golden shower of the Alps" drooped with its heavy weight of yellow petals until it almost touched the velvet sward. Through all was seen the deft touch of the French gardener, and the whole was an inspiration to the citizens who came therein.

Let us pause here to look back with sympathy on these same creole citizens, who, leaving for one cause or another their beloved France, came to take up the life of pioneers in a barren wilderness; obliged to assume occupations ill-fitted to many of them, and where Indians frequently came into the village and massacred the inhabitants. No wonder then, that they loved to step through the little wicket in the high stone wall of Madame Saugrain's garden, where the roses bloomed and the birds sang as sweetly as if no slinking savages lurked near. No wonder that as they turned from the window of the old stone house, whose broad sill served as the primitive post office, to read the treas-

ured letters from dear ones at home that they fancied themselves back in some garden spot of memory, where sparkled the fountain of youth in the sunlight of dreams long since veiled in a mist of tears. Some little *parc* in "La belle France" with gray ancestral towers in the background which cast shadows of the coming revolution and the terror. Ah! these gay, lighthearted *emigres.* How bravely they took up their cross and carried it far away over seas to a foreign shore.

This little bit of French history has always seemed to me like a jewel dropped from the very crown of civilization in the old world, into the rough and rugged setting of the new.

Many were the attempts made at education in those early days. One after another would come a venturesome school-master opening a school in some rude log hut only to be frightened away at the first cry of Les Indiens vienuent so that the Saugrain children received most or their learning from the Doctor's French library, probably the only collection of scientific books in this western country, which is now most valuable and still in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Wm. H. H. Pettus.

Petit Elise lived in St. Louis under three flags, Spanish, French and American. Observing keenly what took place about her, she was much interested in the experiments of her father and, brought up in such a scientific environment that in her 94th year she was prepared for the strides which science had taken, saying, that her father had always told her she would live to see just such wonders, and especially in electricity. He had assisted his friend, Benjamin Franklin, to fly that famous kite, so knew whereof he spoke. His were no idle prognostications.

Romance, too, crept into the wilderness. As Mdlle. Saugrain spoke no English and her husband knew lit-

tle French, the young cupid of the Louisianas must have cared as little for mere language as for "bolts and bars" and depended for effect upon his silver darts.

Soon after the death of my beloved father I made my first trip across the Plains with Sir William Stewart; but I have written of that, how we hunted the buffalo and met with the different tribes of Indians.

Several years after returning, in the year 1842, being now quite grown up and the village likewise having grown into quite a town, I began to go about in society, enjoying the "parties" as most functions were then styled, given by the old residents. Among these were the Paschals, Bents, Carrs, Grahams, Chouteaus, Soulards, Papins, Colliers, Prattes, Chenies, Sarpys, Von Phuls, Mullanphys, and General Harney, whose home on Fourth street was quite palatial, with marble columns and statuary. These parties began early in the evening and supper was served on a long table supporting at one end a saddle of venison on which some expert carver was requested to show his skill; while in the center were great pyramids of spun sugar and nougat, broken at the last amidst much merriment. Chicken bouillon was constantly passed between the dances giving the guests renewed strength to keep up the pace until the small hours.

As to the city the western boundary was now extended as far as Ninth street, where the Benoists had a beautiful home, and the fashionable residence district was along Pine and Olive street from Fourth to Eighth. The promenade extending to Twelfth street and "Yeatman's Row", on which sauntered the beaux, edging away from the wide hoop skirts, at the same time trying to whisper sweet passages from Locksley Hall (just then out) into the large poke bonnets of the belles.

One of the most picturesque characters of the pe-

riod was old Mons. Pascal Cerré, about the last of the old *regime,* in satin small clothes and silver buckles.

Another, was Judge Lawless, a pompous individual with a most voluminous ruff. Wimar was then painting his famous Indian pictures, and De Francia, in his studio on Chestnut street, was perpetuating on canvas the charms of at least one beauty out of almost every family.

A few celebrities penetrated the region west of the Mississippi, among them being Charles Dickens, who was entertained by some of his admirers; and the following year Audubon started in the Fur Company's boat, to study natural history on the Yellowstone. Soon after this several thousand Missourians wound slowly over the Oregon trail en route to that distant land, for "Westward Ho" was still the far-sounding slogan of the people.

There was a "Thespian Society," as well as the "Assembly Club," the young men giving balls to the ladies in the old Planter's House. I recall one in particular, a masque ball, to which I escorted the "village belle", later the wife of a distinguished governor; and the fetching costume she wore was that of a ballet girl in very short skirts and pink tights. On arriving at the ball we met with difficulty, but finally gained admittance, the rule being that no one should enter without disclosing their identity. After much speculation on the part of the other guests, she retired, like Cinderella, before the time to unmask, so that her little secret was never known. Another character that caused much comment was that of Bernard Pratte, Jr., as a monkey, sliding head foremost down a pole hung from the music balcony and jumping with many antics into the midst of a stately quadrille. The costume worn by Jeff was most magnificent, being composed entirely of small iridescent scales over-lapping on a tight suit, with wings of thin rubber stretched

on wire, so that on moving his arms they could be thrown out before him fully enveloping the fair maiden with whom he wished to dance. The whole costume wonderfully suited to his large physique was planned by his brother, Lewis Clark, who had had every female member of the family sewing on spangles for weeks in advance. He was also provided with a barbed tail of heavy wire, intending that an imp should ride upon it, but no willing imp being found for so trying a position, his satanic majesty was obliged to go unattended.

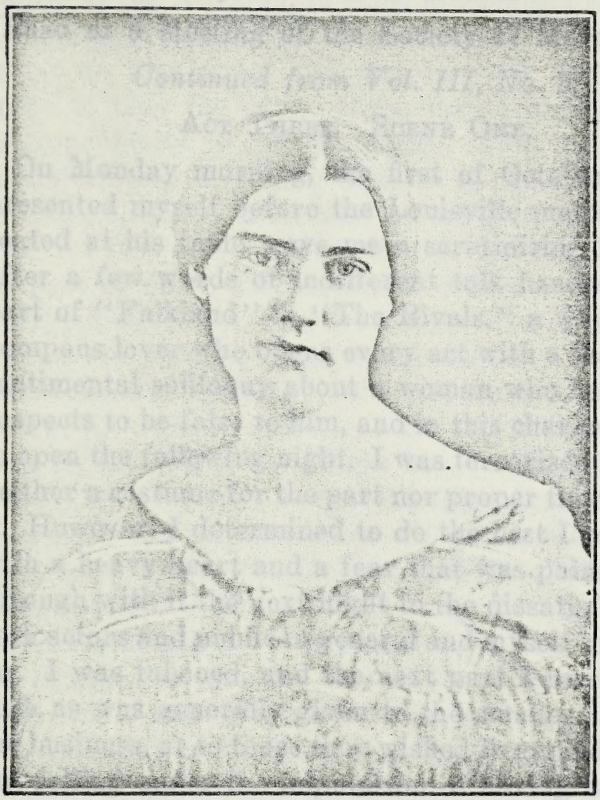
Merriwether Lewis Clark was an artist as well as an architect and successful in whatever he undertook, from the designing of a costume to the building of a new theater on Third and Olive street, which was considered quite wonderful then. It was here in this play house that I first saw the elder Booth. He was playing Richard Third, and being addicted to imbibing too freely it was the custom of the management to keep him locked up during his engagement, at these times. On this occasion, however, he had managed to slip out to the bar adjoining and the result was that when it came to the hand to hand battle between Richard Third and Richmond, he was so much in earnest that he not only tried to kill, but wounded that unfortunate actor, who was then obliged to defend his life by backing Booth off of the stage and then running for an exit; the intrepid prince pursuing him through the theater and out into the street, where he was at last stopped by the amazed populace. The excitement of the audience was intense at being treated to a real duel instead of the usual "two up and three down" of the stage affair, though some of them were disappointed at such a sudden, though realistic, termination.

Another great actor, or rather actress, who played at the same time was Ellen Tree, appearing in the "School for Scandal" and a Shakespearian repertoire

with McCready, who was also a finished actor. A little later the musical world was stirred by little Adelina Patti, a spoiled child of twelve years, to whom her sister and brother-in-law, Strakosch, had to promise all kinds of toys before she would be induced to sing; but when those wonderful notes warbled forth, those possessing a soul for music were entranced and all agreed that nothing like them had been heard since the time of Jenny Lind.

St. Louis society at this time was like one large family, and especially were they all brought together on New Year's day, when, with many recollections and much good cheer, croquignoles and egg nog, the day was given over to visiting and merry-making. In those winters the river froze solid, permitting us to skate as far as Alton, while dodging heavily laden teams crossing from this side to the Illinois shore.

Amid all our gay doings the troubles in Texas about the boundaries began to be manifest, conditions becoming more involved, until 1846 when war was formally declared with Mexico. Feeling against the Mexicans for the terrible massacre of the Alamo was high in Missouri, and there was no difficulty in raising companies of militia to take arms against them. Being rather a soldier of fortune and catching the war's spirit that was in the air I assisted in the organization of Battery A, St. Louis Light Artillery, and now the laying aside of my happy care-free existence to help shoulder the troubles of a nation and begin the forward march of 4,000 miles into the enemy's country, will have to be told in another chapter.



JULIA DEAN.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR.

By Charles A. Krone.

(Read at a Meeting of the Society 17 March, 1906.)

Continued from Vol. III, No. 3.

Act Three. Scene One.

On Monday morning, the first of October, 1859, I presented myself before the Louisville manager who, seated at his table, gave me a scrutinizing look, and after a few words of indifferent talk handed me the part of "Falkland" in "The Rivals," a whining and pompous lover who opens every act with a lachrymose sentimental soliloquy about a woman who he unjustly suspects to be false to him, and in this character I was to open the following night. I was terrorized for I had neither a costume for the part nor proper time to study it. However, I determined to do the best I could, and with a heavy heart and a fear that was painful, I got through with it the next night to the dissatisfaction of both actors and public in general and myself in particular. I was tabooed, and the next part I received was such as was generally given to the smallest actors in the business, or to those they wished to get rid of without falling under the imputation of having broken an engagement. I looked upon the transaction as unfair and felt like explaining myself to the manager and quitting at once. However, pride and a sense of shame prevented me from taking this step and so I struggled on for several weeks in the resolve to hold on until some opportunity or accident should occur to enable me to show my capacity and then quit at once. And strange to say I had implicit faith that such an occasion would arrive, and I was not deceived. Julia Dean

arrived and was to open in "Lucretia Borgia," and I, as usual, was cast for one of the smallest parts. Manager Lorton was to play the very good and difficult part of the "Duke Alphonso," the husband of "Lucretia," but, as he received a telegram at the beginning of the rehearsal to come at once to Cincinnati on business of importance, it was impossible for him to appear on that night, and someone else had to be chosen to play the part. Here, they thought, was a fine opportunity to get rid of me. They saw that I was determined to remain in spite of the small parts, the cold politeness or general ignoring of my personality, but they felt confident that giving me this difficult part in which they deemed I was bound to make a scandalous failure, they would have the sure means to send me packing home again the very next day. Sam Ryan, the comedian, who had been in the company at St. Joseph, and who knew me, said, as I was going on the stage: "All right boy, you'll show them now." My principal scene with Miss Dean had not progressed two minutes when the actors came to the entrance to watch it while round after round of applause resounded through the densely filled house. My greatest satisfaction, however, was that the manager had returned in time to witness the scene. The act being over I was called before the curtain (and calls were not cheap in those days), and I received quite an ovation. As I was passing to my room, the manager laid his hand on my shoulder and said: "Young man you play that part remarkably well." Julia Dean, who was standing by, answered laughingly: "Yes, he played it much better than you ever did." Next day I received a long and flattering notice in the Louisville Journal, then edited by the poet and essayist, George Prentice, and, as the saying is, I had gone up like a sky-rocket in the estimation of the actors who previously had snubbed me, for which I never blamed

them. I had patiently waited for the opportunity and it had come.

From this time forth I was strictly held to my line of business. Most of my parts were new to me, of great length and written in blank verse, and so at times I was compelled to study at night until three and four o'clock when I would go to bed and arise again at eight, go down into the yard and after giving my head a good ducking of cold water under the hydrant, eat a scanty breakfast, go at once to the theatre, where I would stride up and down the stage reviewing what I had studied during the night so as to be perfect at the ten o'clock rehearsal. And this life often lasted for several weeks. I can never forget the severe tasks I accomplished during that winter, nor the copious hydrant baths I took, for there is no doubt that these were the cause of the severe neuralgia I suffered more than twenty years. Notwithstanding, these were among the happiest days of my life. I received encouragement and favors from the very stars that were generally feared on account of their exacting demands. Preeminent among these were Miss Heron and Miss Jeanette Davenport (afterwards Mrs. General Landers) and, above all, Charles Couldock, whose arrival was looked upon by most actors with fear and aversion, and truly the stories of his irascibility and eccentricities were not calculated to make a young fellow feel comfortable. He came during the season and produced the "Advocate." I was cast for the villain of the play, a part that was very long and continually in contact with him, a fact which filled me with apprehension. However, at the rehearsal he very kindly instructed me in whatever he required, and also promised to loan me a costume and wig for the part. In the evening I went to his dressing room, and when he handed me the costume I observed that his eyes were filled with tears. After

drawing a long sigh, he said that that costume had been worn last by his little son, who had doffed it to burlesque an actor he had seen in Richard III, and that his quaint antics and pranks had been such as to make the family roar with laughter, "And," he added, "three days later I placed him in his little coffin." After what I had heard of him I was somewhat astonished at this effusion of tears and tenderness, but his strong emotional nature was as capable of pity as of anger. I got through my difficult task to his satisfaction and ever after I found him kind and obliging to those who had their business at heart.

During the latter part of the season a play entitled "The Sybil" was announced. It was popularly known as the Frankfort Tragedy and treated of an occurrence that had happened some few years previous. A young and beautiful woman had rejected the importunate love of a Col. Sharp and preferred another, named Beauchamp, upon which, to avenge himself, the discarded colonel slandered the lady. An encounter took place between the rivals and the favored lover was shot by the colonel. Thereupon, to avenge his death the bride practiced daily with a pistol until she was able to hit a bullseye at sixty paces, sought the colonel, shot him, and then died of a broken heart. A Mausoleum in the beautiful cemetery on the high bluffs at Frankfort contains the remains of the unhappy lovers, and at the time spoken of it was an object of much interest to tourists. This, as far as I can remember, was the story of the play. At the time the occurrence was still alive in everybody's mind and, as relatives of the parties were still living, a strong effort was made to prevent its production on the stage. Threats being of no avail with the management, some of the parties came on the day of the performance and commanded the manager to withdraw it, which he refused unless $600.00 were paid to him as indemnifica-

tion for the loss of the tickets which had already been sold. They refused and threatened trouble. At five o'clock in the afternoon, however, they returned and offered the money which was refused. At night the house was packed with an excited crowd while the gallery seemed to have gone crazy. Avonia Jones was the "Sybil" and the role of the murderous colonel was assigned to me. The play went on quietly until I appeared on the scene to meet the "Sybil," when a volley of imprecations and curses rent the air, and the vilest epithets that can be imagined were hurled from the gallery and the parquette. I tried to speak several times, but was prevented by new outbursts and cries of "shoot him," "kill the mongrel!" I stood still and calmly awaiting the end. Some ladies near me in the boxes exclaimed: "Oh! what a shame. Go on, Mr. Krone; don't let them frighten you." I bowed to them slightly in acknowledgment of their sympathy and encouragement, but could not go on, and as to being afraid, I never feared a mob while in the performance of my duty, though I have often trembled before the judgment of the intelligent and judicious. These noisy demonstrations were repeated to the end, but less violently and of shorter duration. This was my first experience of that kind, but not the last. As I was growing in favor my salary was increased $2.00 per week, but the amount of study I had gone through at last made me feel confused and ill. Nor was any rest allowed me, for whenever I begged to be released from a part of my work, the answer was: "You can't do it, eh? Well, you must." That word "you must" in a theatre is like the fiery writing on the wall. You must act as long as you are well enough to stand and speak. You must act if your family is ill or dead, and your own heart is loaded down in sorrow. It is a very excellent word, too, where duty is concerned, as everyone will admit who has been trained on it.

This season, and for the first time, the drama of "The Hidden Hand" was produced. It was adopted from Mrs. Southworth's popular novel of that name by our stage manager, Robert Jones. And it had a run of six weeks to full houses. Another novel by the same authoress, "The Doom of Deville," was dramatized by the manager and had a run of only three weeks with indifferent houses. During the nine weeks' run we had rest and leisure and a wicket ball club was organized by the actors. When the weather was fine an omnibus was hired to convey the club and a quantity of lunch, beer and cigars to Cedar Hill for a game of ball in which lessee, manager and every employe participated. Fishing excursions to the neighboring streams and the falls were also enjoyed, and so the time passed until the weekly stars arrived once more.

During Murdoch's engagement of three weeks, "Hamlet" was played fourteen times in this town, which then had a population of some 50,000 inhabitants. During the last week the famous old comedy "Wine Works Wonders" and Schiller's "Robbers" were produced. The theatre being occupied by a French Opera troupe the next week, the company was sent to Cincinnati to support Murdoch at the old National Theatre. He opened with "The School for Scandal" and the house was almost empty. Then followed his excellent rendition of "Hamlet," which drew no better, and so, before the end of the week, he threw up the engagement and retired to his beautiful home at Avondale near Cincinnati.

The time was undergoing a change and the phase of art he represented was about to be relegated to the realms of history. The trials and struggles of his life to attain eminence as a superior delineator of both tragedy and comedy were about to close, and his literary acquirements and intense love of the old dramatists of whom he was a worthy interpreter, were

no longer appreciated nor required for the theatre. The actor, instead of being the medium to express in beautiful forms the idea of the poet, had become independent of him and consequently the art had begun to degenerate into anarchic buffoonery and the grossest naturalism. The time had approached for the clown and negro minstrels to take the place of the sterling player, and the ancient beautiful symbols of Thalia and Melpomene were about to be changed for a Punchinello and the blood smeared corpse of an adulterer to represent the muses of tragedy and comedy. Vulgar platitudes and the lowest of human sensualities glorified by the sacred arts of music and painting were henceforth to be presented to the public. This was no time for a Murdoch and ere long he quit the stage to enter upon the lecture and reader's platform, and finally we find him during the Civil War in the mines at Vicksburg, reading, reciting and encouraging the soldiers in their arduous labors. In 1877 he once more appeared upon his old field of action, but it seems without success, for he again retired to Avondale until his death. Truly a whole man who on his deathbed like Pericles might have asked of those that stood around him: "Have I played my part well?" In him the American people lost not only an artist of superior endowments whose influence on the world was for good alone, but a kind, plain unassuming gentleman and a patriotic citizen.

After our return to Louisville, the general run of stars was played until the end of the season in July. I was anxious to return to St. Louis and to my family, as I believed that I had reached the point where I could show myself with credit, to my friends at home. However, I was pressed to remain another season and as everything was to my liking I consented.

The theatre was well managed, on the same principle as that of DeBar's, although a trifle more free

and easy. The company was good and Manager Lorton was very particular that his actors were not only efficient in their art, but gentlemen. Though drinking was more prevalent here and the temptation stronger than at home, any indecorum resultant from that cause was severely reprimanded. The members of his company enjoyed the society and confidence of the general public and any actor owing a debt to a citizen, if reported, was compelled by the manager to settle it or quit. Lorton, the manager, was of a tall stature, and dignified features, almost the counterpart of James Buchanan, the president of that period. He was a strict disciplinarian, but a kindhearted man and a good actor. He died in 1860 and was buried in Cave Hill Cemetery. The Louisville Stock Theatre, though it struggled on after his death under the management of George Fuller, a gentleman of literary attainments, a historical painter, linguist, dramatic author, and a correspondent known at the time by the name of Mahlstick. The theatre never regained its former ascendency.

Among the important events that happened during the season was that of John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, October 16th, 1859. This was the prologue to the terrible drama that was about to begin. Gloomy and fearful forebodings had taken possession of the general mind as to what the future would prove. Notwithstanding this, during this ten months' season, three merry weddings had been celebrated in our company, and as I had formed the acquaintance of a Louisville maiden, I determined to marry as soon as I had fully established myself in my position and possessed sufficient means to maintain a household. On the third of July the theatre closed and I took the train for home.

I arrived in St. Louis on the 4th of July and found the community in a ferment of excitement about the

coming Presidential election. After spending the summer months agreeably with my family and friends, the latter part of August found me again at my old post at the Louisville theatre, which opened the first week in September. The usual list of stars appeared and the business was good in spite of the political excitement until the bombardment and capitulation of Ft. Sumpter on April 12th, when it suddenly fell below expenses. A mass meeting was called at the public square and addressed by George D. Prentice, who hoisted a union flag amid the cheers and singing of "The Star Spangled Banner" by thousands of men, women and children. Business of every kind came to a standstill excepting the military preparations for war. Discouraging news arrived from all parts of the country and especially from St. Louis, where the conflict had begun in riot and bloodshed. I learned that most of my friends had joined the Union army and I felt very uneasy about my family and was anxious to be with them.

On May 10th news arrived of the capture of Camp Jackson, and I determined at once to send in my resignation and leave for home. The event of the capture was hailed with delight by the loyal people of Louisville, and as the majority of our actors and orchestra were on the union side, a very indiscreet ovation was planned to celebrate the victory in a patriotic manner. After the performance, all those of the theatre and their Union friends assembled at the stage door, where a procession was formed, headed by a tall Kentuckian who carried a large Union flag fastened to a long pole. The word was given and the party moved on through the principal streets of the town on their risky march, shouting "Hurrah for the Union." Several halts were made at friendly taverns, where short speeches were delivered. All went on smoothly until we reached a corner of a street where

some young fellows on the opposite side shouted: "Hurrah for Jeff Davis," to which we replied: "Hurrah for the Union" and the flag bearer waving his flag, cried out: "You and your Jeff Davis come and take this from us if you dare." This was answered by several pistol shots, which were returned by our side, and singing: "The Star Spangled Banner long may it wave." No harm had been done excepting the breaking of a window pane that had been struck by one of the balls. A police officer arrived and advised us to quit our frolic or he would be obliged to run us in for disturbing the peace. After this the party retired to the back room of the Italian's saloon opposite the theatre, where the celebration was kept up until three o'clock in the morning. Gen. Buckner, of Kentucky, had gone farther south to raise an army, and thousands of the young men of the town and the surrounding country were flocking to his standard. One morning I saw a boat load of young fellows who, with yells and shouts and shots fired from Fourth of July pistols, were leaving to join Buckner's force; and in the afternoon a trainload of men left on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad bound for the same destination. The cars were packed, the young men and the boys, of which there were a considerable number, were wild with excitement, singing southern war songs and waving palmetto flags. To my utter consternation I beheld my landlady's son in the crowd. He was a lad of seventeen years of age, an only child, and idolized by his mother. I remonstrated with him and recalled his mother to his mind, to which he replied: "I can't help it, Mr. Krone; I can't help it. Break the news gently to my mother and console her for me." The train started amidst yells, cheers and songs, and I did not see him again until four years afterwards, when he was brought home in his coffin from Dry Tortugas, where he had died a prisoner. When I came

home and told his mother what I had seen, the poor woman almost went mad with grief and all efforts to console her were in vain. For two days her only answer to every attempt to lessen her grief was: "My God; my God; my only child and hope, my Herman." It was the most affecting scene I ever witnessed and it was not the only one that took place in Louisville that day. Everything seemed to be changing from order and peace to anarchy, strife and sorrow. Many of my friends had left home and family to join Morgan, that Morgan who in peace I had known as one of the most unassuming and quiet gentlemen of the time. Two of the actors of our company had also joined the union army and two had gone south.

As prospects under these conditions were uncertain in all southern theatres, and as no preparations were made by the management for the following season, I had concluded an engagement with a Pittsburgh theatre for the ensuing year; so I left Louisville, where I had been so happy and contented, had received so much encouragement and kindness during my two seasons' residence. On my arrival in St. Louis in the dusk of a gloomy evening, I was painfully affected by the contrast that presented itself between this city and Louisville. There all was feverish excitement; tension and painful quietness prevailed in St. Louis. As I walked toward home in the southern part of the city, small groups of men were standing in front of their doors who, with troubled looks and in low voices, conversed on the serious state of affairs, and when I inquired for certain of my friends I was told they were in the arsenal, where some had enlisted and others were held as prisoners of the Camp Jackson capture. The next morning I was awakened by a loud rumbling noise in the street and saw two companies of artillery who were going at a quick pace to the upper part of the city where trouble was apprehended.

During the day a regiment of rustics marched to the arsenal. They were headed by a brass band composed of countrymen who played: "We are coming, Father Abraham, Three Hundred Thousand More" in a most discordant and ear-splitting manner, while the men were singing: "John Brown's body is hanging in the air." Regiment after regiment came pouring in, night and day, and before long all was activity and life. To be a soldier seemed to be the only thing that was right or profitable and I started for the arsenal and saw Captain Fuchs, in whose company many of my friends had enlisted. He advised me to join him and that he would promote my interests as far as he was able. I stated the proposition to my family, and a woeful lament was raised by my mother. But the strongest opposition was from my grandmother, who had lived through the latter part of the Napoleonic period, in which my grandfather, a professional soldier, had served in Spain as drillmaster of a regiment of lancers. My father also had served two terms in the Britanic-Hanoverian Army, one of which was compulsory and another as a substitute in order to obtain the means to marry. My step-father, also a professional soldier, farrier and riding master, had served on the frontier and in Mexico. With this record my mother asserted the family had done their military duty without risking the only man that was left of the family. They proposed that I should seek an engagement at home and get married, and I consented.

On July 16th news arrived of the disastrous defeat of our army at Bull Run and later the tidings of a dearly won victory at Wilson's creek and Springfield, followed by the arrival of the wounded and the bodies of those killed in that battle. The heroic Gen. Lyon was also among the slain. His body was brought here from whence it was conveyed with great funeral hon-

ors to the train that was to take it to his home in Connecticut. The road to the ferry was crowded with sympathetic spectators and women and children sobbed and wept aloud, as the cortege passed.

The gloom and melancholy that pervaded everywhere and the hopeless prospects for the future, together with the thought of a beggarly salary of ten dollars per week that awaited me in Pittsburgh, a sum that was less than I had received in cheap and peaceful times, decided me to return to Louisville, where I was sure to get work as a typesetter at good pay and could make arrangements for my marriage and wait for better times.

As no one was allowed to leave the city without a pass from the military authorities, I called upon Major McKinstry, the Provost Marshal, whose headquarters were situated on the northeast corner of Washington Avenue and Fourth street. I found the room filled with a crowd of men whose anxious looks and eager manner betrayed the general fear and alarm that prevailed. Not a loud word was spoken. The noise of shuffling feet as the crowd silently jostled and shoved one another to get to the railing was the only sounds heard, excepting when a tall soldier in a uniform, bedizened with yellow tape, shouted: "Stand back." The crowd was largely composed of well-dressed men who appeared to belong to the well-to-do classes of society, and it seemed as if the soldier had made these the particular victims of his martial ire, for he would shove them against the wall and sling them to the right and left to make room for plainly attired men that stood quietly waiting. I was standing far back near the door when the soldier beckoned me to enter within the railing where the marshal was seated at a table. Upon stating my desire to go to Louisville he looked at me sharply and asked, "What for?" I answered, "To work." He replied, "To work?

There's plenty of work here for a young fellow like you. What are you?" "An actor," I answered. He looked at me closely. "An actor? Humph, I think I have seen you at DeBar's a few seasons ago." I replied that no doubt he had, upon which he gave me my pass and I retired with a joyful heart and the satisfaction of having learned an interesting object lesson in history.

That very evening I left for Louisville. When the omnibus arrived at the Wiggins Ferry Landing, the door was opened by a soldier, who shouted: "Passes." They were handed to him, and after examining them closely, he stepped out, slammed the door with a force that made the glass rattle, shouted "all right" and we immediately entered the boat.

Baptism of the First Church Bell in St. Louis: The year seventeen hundred and seventy-four, the twenty-fourth of December, I, the undersigned, have baptised with the ordinary ceremonies of the Church a new bell, which is named Pierre Joseph Felicité, and of which the godfather is *Messire* Pierre Joseph de Piernas, Captain of a battalion of Louisiana, and Lieutenant Governor of the Illinois; and the godmother Dame Felicité de Piernas de Portneuf; who have signed with me the day and year above mentioned.

Pedro Piernas, Felicité Portneuf Piernas, Baroy, Benito Basquez, fr Valentin curé.—*Translated from the Cathedral Register.*

EXTRACT FROM JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN HARRY GORDON.[1]

"7th, [August, 1766] We got to ye Fork of the Ohio in Lat. 36° 43', about 40 Miles below Massiac. We took a survey of the River in coming down. Our Bearings and Distance, from the Method we imagined and carefully pursued, have a considerable Right to be exact, and have been corrected with Observations on the Lat. that are to be depended on. The gentle Ohio is push'd back by the impetuous Stream of the Mississippi, whose muddy, white Water is to be seen above 200 yds. up the former. We examined the Ground for several Miles within the Fork. It is an Aggregation of Mud and Dirt, interspersed with Marsh and some Ponds of Water, and is in high Times of the Mississippi overflowed; which is the Case with the other Sides of both Rivers.

"9th & 10th, repaired the Boats, and fitted them strongly with every Thing in our Power, to encounter the Stream of the Mississippi, which we thought hardly possible, having been so long used to the much gentler One of the Pleasant Ohio.

"11th Augt. having been joined by a Party of the 34 Regt. from F. Chartres, we began to ascend the Mississippi, whose rapid Stream has broke through the Country, and divided it everywhere into a Number of Islands. The low Lands on each Side continue 8 Leagues upwards, when it becomes broken, and small Ridges appear for the Rest of the Way to Kaskaskias. There are many Islands in this Distance, some of which entirely of Rock. That called by the French,

[1] Reprinted, by permission of the author, from *The Wilderness Trail* by Charles A. Hanna, 2 vols. George P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1911. This book is a treasure house of interesting information.

La Tour, which it much resembles, is 11 Leagues below the Kaskaskias River. The Distance of This River from the Forks is 31 Leagues.

"The Mississippi's principal Stream is from 5 to 700 yds. wide, but it is scarcely ever to be seen together, and some small parts are above a mile distant from one another; the Principall Stream likewise often shifts, & the deep Chanels also, which makes the Pilotage of the River extremely difficult; & Boats often get a Ground in ascending, chiefly when endeavoring to avoid the rapid Current.

"The 19th, we got in the morning to the small River of the Kaskaskias, 80 Yds. wide at the Mouth, but Deep, 5 Feet, which it carries up to the village, and is said to be navigable 50 Leagues further A Detachment of 1 Offr. & 30 Men are Quartered here, where we arrived the same Day, distant from the Mouth of the River of that Name 2 Leagues. The high Grounds mentioned skirt along the South Side of the Kaskaskias River, come opposite the Village, and continue along Northerly, in a Chain nearly parallel to the East Bank of the Mississippi, at the Distance from it of 2 to 3 Miles. This Space between is level, mostly open, & of the richest Kinds of Soil, in which the Inhabitants of the Illinois raise their Grain, &ca.

"The Kaskaskias Village is on the Plain. It consists of 80 Houses, well built, mostly of stone, with Gardens and large Lots to each, whose inhabitants live generally well, & some of them have large Stocks of Cattle & Hogs. There was a new Fort begun by the French, of Logs, opposite the Village on the rising Ground, t'other side of the River, but entirely commanding it. Ensign Hutchins I sent by Water to compleat the Survey to Fort Chartres. That I might see the Country, I went by Land.

"The Road to Fort Chartres is along the Plain, passing in some Places near the Chain of rocky

Heights above mentioned. The Distance to the Fort is 18 Miles. The Road passes thro' the Village of the Kaskaskia Indians, of 16 Cabbins, and afterwards thro' a French one, called Prairie de Roche, in which are 14 Families. The last is distant 3 Mile from Fort Chartres; between is the Village called *L'Etablisment,* mostly deserted, and the Inhabitants gone to Misere on the West Bank of the River, a little higher than the Kaskaskias.

"20th, arrived at Fort Chartres, where I found one of a well imagined and finished Fort of 4 Bast^{n} of Stone Masonry, designed defensible agt. Musquetry. The Barracks are also of Masonry, commodious and elegant. This Place is large enough to contain 400 Men, but may defend itself with a Third of the Number against Indians, if Care is taken to mow the Weeds near it, which grow to 10 and 11 Ft. Height, and very rank. It is now in Danger of being undermined by the Mississippi, whose Eastern Bord is already within 26 Yards of the Point of the S. W. Bastion. The Bank I found thirty Feet high, Sandy, with small Gravel (very uncommon Soil for the Banks of this River, that are mostly Mud or flat Clay), and perpendicular; so that the crumbling occasion'd by Frost would demolish in a little Time this small Space before the Bastion. When we took Possession of this Fort the River was above 100 Yds. Distance, and before that, the French who foresaw its Approach, had expended much Labour and Money to try to prevent it. They fascined and piled the Banks, but the Torrent soon got Passage behind them. Had they brought the Banks to a large Slope, retired those of a gravelly Kind so as to have an Eddy on them in Flood Time; drove a Number of Button-Wood short Stakes in the Slope, which immediately take Root, and got together floating Trees and any Thing else of that Kind the Floods bring down, made those fast at the Point where

the Stream divides to come by the Fort and round the Island opposite to it; This last might have averted the Strength of the Current towards the western Bank, and by stopping the Rubbish that comes along with the Floods, have formed a Bar at the Point. The gravelly Banks would not have resisted the Flood an Eddy would have laid upon them; nor would there have been any Resistances to the Current at Bottom, whose Effect would have thereby been diminished. Upon these Principles I gave Instructions to Lieut. Pitman, Assist. Engineer at this Post, to proceed. The Ruin of the Fort was inevitable next Spring without doing something. But a Part at least may be saved at a small Expense, to lodge the Garrison till other Measures are resolved on.

"The Sickly State of the Troops did not allow of getting any Number to work during my Stay, nor was the Water low enough, or the Heats abated, to make much Work otherwise advisable. This being the case, I proceeded the 28th to view the Country upwards; our own Boatmen being sickley and much fatigued, I went by Land, accompanied with Lieut. Pitman and Ensign Hutchins, to Kyahokie [Cahokia], 45 Miles distant from the Fort, and the upper most Settlement on our Side.

"In the Route we pass le Petit Village, 5 Miles from the Fort, a Place formerly inhabited by 12 Families, now only one since our Possession. The abandoned Houses are most of them well built and left in good Order. The grounds are favourable near the Village for Grain, particularly Wheat; and extensive cleared Land, sufficient for the Labour of 100 Men to cultivate.

"We turn off here to the Eastward, and in 2 Miles come on the high Ground, when we keep till within 3 Miles of Kyahokia, when we return to the Plain to get to that Village. Here are 43 Families of French,

who live well, and so might three Times that Number as there is a great Quantity of arable clear Land of the best Soil near it. There is likewise 20 Cabbins of Peoiria Indians left here. The Rest and best Part are moved to the French Side, 2 Miles below Pain Court. It is reckoned the Wheat thrives better here than at Kaskaskias, owing probably, to its being more Northerly by almost a Degree.

"At This Place we endeavoured to hire 3 men and a Canoe, as we said, to view the Missouri; but our Intention was as far as the Illinois River. We could not prevail by Intreaty or Money to get such a Number, or even a Canoe, to go with us. An Invitation came from Mr. St. Ange, the French Commandant in the Illinois, to go to Pain Court, with Promise to be assisted in our Progress upwards. We went to Pain Court the 30th, where we staid next Day; were civilly treated by Mr. St. Ange and the other Gentlemen, but, thro a little Jelousy, were disappointed in going upwards, and returned to Kyahokie the 31st in the Evening.

"The Village of Pain Court (now St. Louis), is pleasantly situated on a high Ground which forms the W. Bank of the Mississippi; it is 3 Miles higher up than Kyahokie; has already fifty Families, supported chiefly from thence; and seems to flourish very quick.

"At This Place, Mr. Le Clef (Laclede) the principal Indian Trader resides, who takes so good Measures, that the whole Trade of the Missouri, That of the Mississippi Northwards, and that of the Nations near La Baye, Lake Michigan, and St. Josephs, by the Illinois River, is entirely brought to Him. He appears to be sensible, clever, and has been very well educated; is very active, and will give us some Trouble before we get the Parts of this Trade that belong to us out of His Hands.

"We found it impracticable to go further upwards, without waiting for a Boat from ye Fort, which would have been a long Time of coming, and otherwise might have given Jealousies that would have occasioned greater Disappointment, as Mr. le Clef is readily served by the Indians he has planted within 2 Miles of Him.

"We returned to Fort Chartres the 2nd of Septr. by the same Route we came. Some Days were employed in visiting and directing Lieut. Pitman in the Work he was set about, and Composing Instructions regarding his viewing the Country towards the Illinois River, and likewise, that on the other Hand to the Ohio and the old Post of Massiac. I found myself no longer usefull at Fort Chartres, and returned to Kaskaskias the 6th.

"The next Day viewed the Country round this Village, in order to fix a Situation for the principal Post in Case of the Demolition of Fort Chartres by the Curr. of the Mississippi, which most probably will hapen in 3 Years' Time, perhaps in less. Viewed that part to the Nor'w of the small River, as also along the Bank of the great one upwards, to search for a rising Ground, and a Shelter for Craft; which now lays at the Village, thro want of such at the Fort. We discovered nothing to Purpose. The Afternoon, we cross'd the small River, with much fatigue, and, a Foot, visited the Situation of the Fort Begun by the French as mentioned already. We found it a very good one, accessible only on the East Side; the West by which we went up, narrow, steep and easily defended. It commands the Town, the River below, overlooks the Plain towards the Mississippi, which does not seem 3 Miles across in a straight Line, and has a fair chance of being a healthy Spot, at least an airy one, as it is high Placed, on dry Ground, and near good Water.

"Our Possession of the Illinois is only usefull at present in one Respect. It shows the Indian Nations our Superiority over the French, to whom, they can thence perceive, we give Law. This is dearly bought by the Expense it is to us, and the Inconvenience of supporting it. The French carry on the Trade all round us by Land and by Water; 1st, Up the Mississippi, and to the Lakes by the Ouiasconsin, Foxes, Chicagou, and Illinois Rivers; 2ndly, Up the Ohio to the Wabash Indians; and even the small Quantity of Skins or Furs that the Kaskaskias and Peoirias (who are on our side) get by hunting is carried under our Nose to Misere and Pain Court. A Garrison at the Illinois River, and a Post at La Baye will partly prevent the first; and one at Massiac will, as has been said, stop their Intercourse with the People on the Wabash, who consist of several Nations. Coop'd up at Fort Chartres only, we make a foolish Figure; hardly have the Dominion of the Country, or as much Credit with the Inhabitants as induce them to give us any Thing for Money, while our neighbours have Plenty on Trust."

Primitive Money. It must not be supposed that banks of circulation were unknown to the ancient inhabitants. On the contrary, they even then had existence. Besides the currency of furs and peltries, which was of a character almost as cumbersome as the iron money of the Spartans, they had a real shinplaster circulation. Witness the following, which is a copy and translation of a genuine document in my possession:

"*Bon pour six livre de Barbue a St. Louis ce* 25 *7bre* 1799 *Antoine Roy.*"

Translation: Good for six pounds of catfish, at St. Louis, this 25 September, 1799. Antoine Roy.

Note to Judge Primm's address, 15 Feb. 1847.

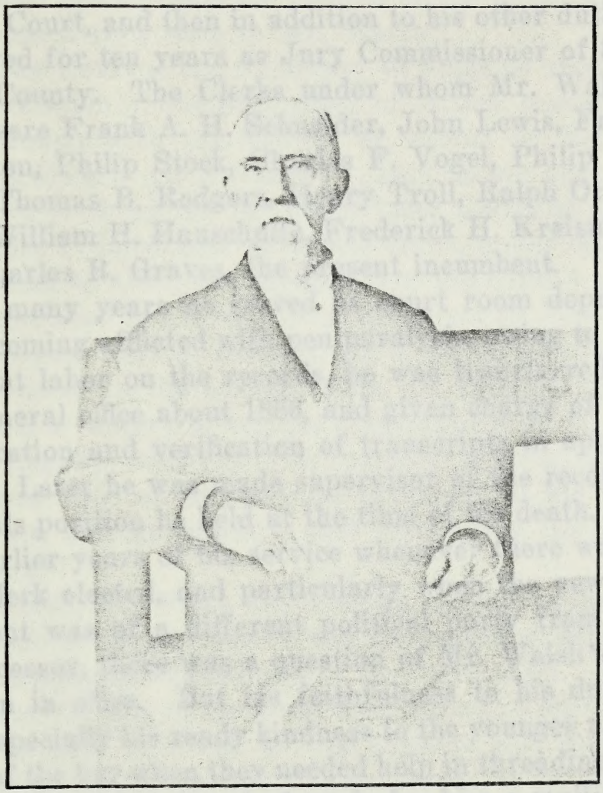
In Memoriam.

Edmund P. Walsh.

A long, and comparatively uneventful life, begun, lived and ended in one city, gives little scope for the fancy of the biographer. But where such a life is characterized by constant devotion to duty and an unfailing succession of kindly actions, it is fitting that the memory of it should not be allowed to perish.

Edmund P. Walsh was born in St. Louis, on Olive street, between Main and Second streets, 26 May, 1832. He was the youngest of a family of ten children. His parents were Patrick and Margaret Walsh, natives of Ireland, who came to St. Louis 20 January, 1821. Mr. Patrick Walsh was elected justice of the peace in 1831 and held the office for twenty years. He died in St. Louis in 1851.

Edmund Walsh was educated in the St. Louis Schools, and in 1856 he was appointed by Judge Charles B. Lord assistant clerk of the St. Louis Land Court. His first chief was Charles A. Mantz. Upon the expiration of Mr. Mantz's term Edward N. Tracy was elected clerk. Mr. Tracy was drowned while on a fishing trip on the Mississippi river and upon his death Mr. Walsh was appointed to fill the vacancy until the general election. In 1862 Lieutenant Colonel Robert White, who had commanded a Missouri Unionist regiment at the battle of Lexington, where he had been badly wounded, was elected clerk, but Mr. Walsh managed the office during his incumbency. It was during this term that a company of militia, called the Court House Guards, and composed largely of the officials of the city and county, was organized. John H. Andrews, then sheriff, was captain, Mr. Walsh was first lieutenant, and Michael K. McGrath, afterwards for many years Secretary of State of Missouri, was



Edmund P. Walsh

second lieutenant. The company was sworn into the Federal service, and drilled regularly in the rotunda of the Court House, but was never called into active duty.

Upon the abolition of the Land Court in 1864, Mr. Walsh was transferred to the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court, and then in addition to his other duties he served for ten years as Jury Commissioner of St. Louis County. The Clerks under whom Mr. Walsh acted were Frank A. H. Schneider, John Lewis, Fred Thornton, Philip Stock, Charles F. Vogel, Philip H. Zepp, Thomas B. Rodgers, Henry Troll, Ralph Orthwein, William H. Hauschulte, Frederick H. Kreisman and Charles R. Graves, the present incumbent.

For many years he served as court room deputy, but becoming afflicted with pen paralysis, owing to his constant labor on the records, he was transferred to the general office about 1886, and given charge of the preparation and verification of transcripts in appeal cases. Later he was made supervisor of the records, and this position he held at the time of his death. In the earlier years of his service whenever there was a new clerk elected, and particularly when the new incumbent was of a different political party from his predecessor, there was a question of Mr. Walsh's retention in office. But his faithfulness to his duties, and especially his ready kindness to the younger members of the bar when they needed help in threading the intricacies of practice, had made for him a multitude of friends who hastened to his support. In later years he became so established in his position that there was never a thought of his removal.

In March, 1878, Mr. Walsh became a member of the Historical Society, and in June, 1880, he was elected Secretary, which position he held until the end of the year 1887, when he was succeeded by the late Oscar W. Collett.

Mr. Walsh was married 4 July, 1860, to Miss Sarah A. Ivory, who survives him. Their union was never blessed with children.

In 1906, the Judges of the Circuit Court, in General Term, adopted the following resolution, which was ordered spread upon the records of the Court, and an engrossed copy sent to Mr. Walsh:

"The Court deems it proper to place on record an appreciation of the fifty years of service rendered in connection with the Courts of record by Edmund Philip Walsh. On November 1, 1856, he was appointed deputy clerk of the St. Louis Land Court by Judge Charles P. Lord, and when that Court, under the Constitution of 1865, was merged into the Circuit Court, he continued in the service of the Court as Jury Commissioner, Clerk of Division No. 3, and in other capacities down to the present time, an unbroken period of half a century of service characterized at all times by integrity, efficiency and courtesy, making his conduct at once an aid and an ornament to the public service, and an example and inspiration to public officers."

In 1898, Mr. Walsh delivered an address at the Convention of Circuit Clerks and Recorders of Missouri, which address was printed by the Convention. In that address he tells of the Dred Scott case and other cases at the trial of which he was present, and also tells of his acquaintance with General Grant, as follows:

"In the year 1865, between the close of the Civil War and the election of General Grant to the Presidency, he and Mrs. Grant were still interested in the old farm in St. Louis County, where he had built the famous log cabin which was on exhibition at the World's Fair. This farm had been leased to a Captain Joseph White, who, after the expiration of the lease, retained possession and in order to oust him the General and his wife brought an unlawful detainer

proceeding before a Justice of the Peace in the county. At that time the City and County of St. Louis had not been separated, and Captain White, having been defeated in the suit, took an appeal to the St. Louis Land Court, of which I was at the time the Court Clerk. General Grant remained in St. Louis for quite a while in connection with this litigation, and I thus had an opportunity to become acquainted with him. He appeared quiet and unassuming, was a good talker, notwithstanding his reputation for taciturnity, and could talk interestingly; he was a great smoker, and used about the largest sized cigars of any smoker that I remember. I saw him later, after he became President, and he had then grown quite stout. This suit was interesting on account of the great reputation General Grant had recently attained, as a conqueror of General Lee and of the Confederate Army, and when his great work was fresh in the minds of all."

Mr. Walsh died 13 October, 1909, at his home, 3675 Laclede avenue, after an illness of a month's duration. His funeral took place at St. Xavier's (the College) Church, and was attended by a large number of judges, lawyers and city officials, all of whom had been his admirers and his friends, and who were sincere mourners at his death.

In Memoriam.

Leon J. Papin.

Leon J. Papin, one of the original members of the Missouri Historical Society, died in St. Louis on Sunday, 29 October, 1911.

Mr. Papin was born in St. Louis, 11 August, 1829, and lived his whole life in this city. His father was Pierre Didier Papin and his mother was Catherine Cerré. His parents were married in St. Louis, 10 August, 1826. On his father's side Mr. Papin was

descended from Laclede, from Joseph Papin, who was in St. Louis before 1769, and from Joseph Marie Papin and his wife Marie Louise Chouteau. His father, Pierre Didier Papin, was a famous Indian trader, and was for several years in charge of the trading post Fort Laramie. He is frequently mentioned by Parkman and by other writers on early Western life. He died at Scotts Bluff on the Platte river, in the fifties, on one of his trading expeditions. On his mother's side, Mr. Leon Papin was descended from Gabriel Cerré, who was one of the chief citizens of St. Louis in the latter quarter of the eighteenth century. His grandfather was Pascal Cerré, who died in St. Louis in 1849, and Michel Cerré, who was one of Bonneville's captains, was his uncle. Mr. Leon Papin studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1849, but relinquished practice to enter the office of his uncle, Michel Cerré, who was sheriff of St. Louis County, and afterwards Clerk of the Circuit Court. Mr. Papin continued in office after Mr. Cerré's death, and was engaged in various clerical positions in the Court House for many years. For some years before his death Mr. Papin was engaged in transcribing for the Missouri Historical Society, the Church Registers of baptisms, marriages and burials, kept at St. Louis and Kaskaskia, which are the foundations of the history of the white settlement of the Mississippi Valley. The volumes of transcripts in Mr. Papin's beautiful handwriting, legible as print, will always remain among the treasures in the Society's archives. Any appeal to Mr. Papin's recollections of early times met with enthusiastic response; and to walk with him along the streets in the old portion of the city, where he lived in his youth, was a pleasure not to be forgotten. Mr. Papin left surviving his widow and several children and grandchildren. A few months before his death Mr. Papin presented to the Historical Society

the portrait of his great-grandfather, Gabriel Cerré, of his grandfather, Pascal Leon Cerré, of his father and mother, and of his uncle, Gabriel Pascal Cerré.

NOTES.

HOUCK'S SPANISH REGIME IN MISSOURI. By the publication of these two handsome volumes Mr. Houck has greatly increased the debt owed to him by the people of Missouri for his invaluable history of the State. These volumes supplement that work, and are made up of translations of documents covering the time of the Spanish domination in Missouri, some of which come from the archives of the Missouri Historical Society, but which for the most part were obtained by Mr. Houck from the depositories in Spain, and translated for his use. They are all public documents, but they are illustrative of almost every phase of the life of the people. There are among them censuses, reports of production, of commerce, of explorations, of discoveries, of intercourse and trade with the Indian tribes, and muster rolls of the militia companies. There is an official account of the *grand coup*—the British and Indian attack on St. Louis in 1780, and of the promotions of Governor de Leyba and Lieutenant Cartabona for their gallant conduct in the defense of the village. Not the least interesting of the documents are those which relate to the capture of Madame Cruzat, wife of Governor Francisco Cruzat, by Mississippi river pirates. Both volumes are replete with interesting details regarding the citizens of Missouri and their activities. The absurdity of many stories which have hitherto passed current as history is here demonstrated. No history of St. Louis can be written without the aid of this book, and the information here given makes an accurate history of St. Louis in the Spanish days now possible.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, by Justin H. Smith. The history of Texas is inextricably bound up with that of Missouri. The great name of Austin belongs to both States. There are few of the old Missouri families that have not furnished representative citizens to the Texan commonwealth, and every town of importance in that State had from the beginning and still has its Missouri colony. When the Missouri legislature in 1844 demanded the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period, as essential to the interests of this State, there was no political or indirect motive behind it, but it was the expression of a desire on the part of Missouri people to help their own.

In view of this relation between the States, Mr. Smith's careful and exhaustive study of the events leading up to the question of annexation, and of the political struggles incident to its accomplishment, possesses great interest for every student of Missouri history. Mr. Smith has done his work well. He has presented the questions involved clearly and with fairness, and he allows the persons involved in the struggle to speak for themselves. Looking back from our time, it is difficult to understand how the men of that day could be so terrified at the political aspects of slavery. Can it be doubted but that, without the frenzy of the abolitionists, without the crippling of the country by the sacrifices of the war between the States, without the horrors of reconstruction, and without the consequent destruction of the government of the Fathers, slavery would have disappeared as a thing which had outlived its time? Even in those days it was dead at the root; yet there were but few who had the insight to perceive it.

THE WISLIZENUS JOURNAL. The Society expects to print in a short time a translation of *Ein Ausflug nach dem Felsengebirgen im Jahre* 1839, written by Dr. F. A.

Wislizenus, and printed in St. Louis in 1840. The translation has been made for the Society by Frederick A. Wislizenus, Esq., a son of the author. The original volume is one of the rarest bits of *Americana;* only two copies being known to exist. Dr. Wislizenus was a trained observer, and a man of much literary skill, and it is believed that the volume will be a valuable addition to the literature of early western travel.

Newspaper Acquisitions. The Society received sometime since from Mr. Granville D. Kennedy, of Brunswick, two volumes of The Glasgow News, June, 1845, to June, 1847, and six volumes of The Brunswicker, October, 1847, to September, 1853. Both of these papers were edited and published by Dr. John H. Blue, Mr. Kennedy's father-in-law, a man well-known in Missouri at that time and for many years later. These papers cover a period when the settlement of Missouri was progressing with great rapidity, and throw much light upon the events and methods of that time. Dr. Blue was one of the ablest newspaper men of his day, and his editorial comments are of great interest and value. Mr. Robert Miller, of Liberty, has presented the files of The Liberty Tribune, 1846 to 1880; also a number of other Clay county newspapers of various dates from the time of the war with Mexico to the war between the States. Mr. Miller during the period of his editorship of the papers was in close touch with all of the leading men in the State, and his paper is full of interest and of valuable material for the historian. A volume of The Marshall Democrat for 1857 was presented by the late John S. Davis, Esq., of St. Louis. This gift was accompanied by an interesting account of the origin of the paper, upon "A plan by distinguished citizens to further the general adoption of what they believed to be right principles

of government." Prior to the establishment of this paper, the Know-Nothing party had carried the elections in Saline County. They had a newspaper "organ," THE SALINE COUNTY HERALD, ably conducted by Col. George W. Allen. To counteract the influence of this paper, THE MARSHALL DEMOCRAT was started. Mr. Davis took the position of editor in December, 1857. Among the leading men associated with the enterprise were Maj. John W. Bryant, Col. Vincent Marmaduke, Dr. Crawford E. Smith, William S. Brown and William B. Sappington. The publication met with great temporary success, but early in 1861, owing to the stagnation of business throughout the State, it fell into difficulties, and in July of that year was discontinued. The press and type were removed to Mr. Davis's residence, and made use of to print occasional notices, until finally they were "borrowed" by the Federal authorities.

THE SOCIETY'S TEMPORARY OFFICE. The destructive fires in the Missouri and New York capitals caused the Board of the Missouri Historical Society much anxiety for the safety of the invaluable collections of the Society. It was feared that, pending the completion of the new building, the material which it is being built to preserve and display might become food for the flames; it was therefore resolved to pack and store the greater part of the property of the Society until it could be installed in the new home. Fireproof storage rooms were kindly offered by the St. Louis University and the Washington University, which offers were gratefully accepted. A large quantity of manuscripts have been placed in the safe deposit vaults of the Mississippi Valley Trust Company and of the State Bank. The old building will be vacated about the beginning of January, 1912, and a temporary office established at Room 605 Mermod-Jaccard Building.

3295